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Czechoslovakia Ratifies Pact Dissolution Protocol

LD2103185991 Prague CTK in English 1724 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 21 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government today endorsed a protocol abolishing the Warsaw Pact military bodies and structures as from March 31, 1991.

The protocol was signed by the Governments of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union in Budapest on February 25.

Under the protocol signed by all the Warsaw Treaty members, all military activity within the alliance will cease at the end of this month and so will the activity of members of the national armies in the command of the Joint Armed Forces.

In a communique from its session today the cabinet pointed to a report from the Budapest meeting which showed different assessments of the Warsaw Pact in the speeches of the Soviet Union and the heads of the other five delegations. In the Soviet view, NATO should follow the example of the Warsaw Pact and dismantle its military organization. According to the USSR, it would be highly negative if intentions of former Warsaw Pact members to associate with NATO were realized, the government communique said.

The Foreign Trade Ministry proposed to the government the principles of trade in military material. They provide for the abolition of the monopoly of the Omnipol corporation in arms trade and enable legal persons licensed by the Foreign Trade Ministry to trade in this branch. The licences will be issued in cooperation with the Ministries of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Interior.

The cabinet approved a letter of guarantee to the U.S. Administration for an early import of safety equipment and components from the United States for Czechoslovak nuclear power plants. The letter reacts to the U.S. offer of exemptions from U.S. export control (COCOM) [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] regulations on such equipment which can be used for Soviet-built VVER-type reactors. The components, materials and technologies must by no means be made available to a third state without consent of the U.S. Administration. The Czechoslovak Government communique described this U.S. initiative based on "national discretion" as an expression of the U.S. Administration's confidence in the sincerity of the Czechoslovak Government's effort to introduce quickly a Czechoslovak system of export control.

The government eased today regulations on the founding of enterprises with foreign capital stakes in Czechoslovakia. No Finance Ministry licence will be needed for companies set up exclusively by foreigners or foreigners with Czechoslovak natural persons or with Czechoslovak companies formed by natural persons. Also cooperatives founded after July 1, 1988 will need no Finance Ministry licence for such ventures.

"This liberalization ... is to facilitate the access of foreign capital to Czechoslovakia and support private enterprise", the communique said. The order will come into effect in the course of April.

International Economic Conference Held in Budapest

Leaders Make Opening Remarks

LD2203231991 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—"The recovery of the shattered East-Central European economies is only viable amid the conditions provided by a democratic state governed by the rule of law," Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, stated at the international conference, entitled "The Responsibility of Parliaments for the Success of Economic Development", which opened in Budapest on Friday.

In his lecture, Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, expressed his conviction that the advanced democracies would understand that the East European countries need their help to carry out the political changes as soon as possible.

Addressing the conference, Helmut Becker, vice-president of the Bundestag, pointed out that East Europe is travelling along an unknown road. Germany shares in this, as reunification has raised the issue for the speedy integration of its eastern provinces into the western part of the country.

Becker said the Hungarian economy should be further liberalized, and powerful progress made with respect to privatization. There is no reason for pessimism, he said. Hungarian companies are successfully entering the world economy and considered it natural for Germany to recognise that Eastern Europe, including Hungary, requires further assistance.

Antall Addresses Conference

LD2203232391 Budapest MTI in English 1919 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall addressed the international parliamentary conference dealing with the responsibility of parliaments for the success of economic development in East Europe, on Friday afternoon in Budapest.

Antall said the Eastern and Central European countries now have to examine the question of how to implement the switch from a planned economy to a market economy. He noted that in 1956 there were illusions that socialism could be reformed. From the 1970s and 1980s, however, it became increasingly clear that the market economy cannot be coordinated with a political dictatorship.

The prime minister drew the conclusion that the difficulties of the Central and Eastern European countries do not originate simply from the fact that serious debts burden these states, and that these countries have for long been a part of a huge imperial market. Another reason for the difficulties is that people's attitude towards property had changed over the long years. The institutions and structures which currently operate the market economies of the developed world remained unknown in this region. The prime minister called attention to the fact that economic recovery of the states of the region is in the fundemental interest of the industrialized world.

Goncz Addresses Conference

LD2303211691 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—The international economic conference that started in the Hungarian parliament on Friday with the participation of parliamentary deputies from nine countries and economic experts from other countries, carried on with its work on Saturday. Before the Saturday session, president of the Republic of Hungary Arpad Goncz received the heads of the delegations participating at the conference entitled "The Responsibility of Parliaments in Economic Development". The countries of Central-East Europe are at different stages of the democratization process, President Goncz stressed. It is Hungary that has earliest started the social, political and economic restructuring, he added. The present conference should aim at outlining further tasks to be realized by joint efforts, defining the actual fields.

On Saturday, Hungarian Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar held a lecture for the participants of the conference. Up to the end of 1990, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has granted 1,300 million SDR [special drawing rights] of loans to Hungary, and the world bank has financed 23 programmes worth nearly 2,300 million dollars, Kadar said. The majority of these programmes aimed at restructuring and modernization of industrial and agricultural production and the infrastructure.

Conference Ends

LD2403231991 Budapest MTI in English 2012 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—An international conference entitled "The Responsibility of Parliaments in Economic Development" ended in Budapest on Sunday.

Parliaments of nine countries including Hungary were represented at the conference. Delegations arrived from countries of Central-East Europe, Germany, and the United States. Also present at the conference were experts of several international organizations, such as the IMF, the OECD and the World Bank.

At a press briefing held at the end of the conference, Charles Mathias, chairman of the International Foundation for the Survival of Humanity, the organizer of the

conference, told journalists that during the three-day event, there had been an open, objective and sincere exchange of opinions between participants.

State Secretary of the Hungarian Ministry of Finance Tamas Szabo said the conference had been useful because instead of political questions, issues of the economic restructuring had come to the fore. The conference proved that there was no other path of development for countries in the region than that of market economy.

American experts present at the briefing did not consider the write-off of Polish debts an example to follow.

Security Forces Disperse Hundreds in Durres

LD2503211891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2021 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Durres, March 25 (TANJUG)—Strong Albanian police and army forces on Monday afternoon dispersed several hundred Albanians who have assembled in the port of Durres in an attempt to cross to Italy.

Tens of people were injured in the clashes and, as claimed by eye-witnesses, several people were taken away in police cars.

No official statement has been released so far.

A group which included largely residents of Tirana and other near-by towns gathered in Durres following rumours that a U.S. ship was on its way to the port to carry them across to Italy. The Durres harbour and all its access roads are guarded by the (?army)

Rumours about U.S. ships coming to take away those who do not want to live in Albania any more have become a regular occurrence and a major problem for the authorities, who are trying to prevent unrest and preserve order and peace.

Groups of people head for the coast from various parts of the country every day after receiving news about ships arriving to Albania. None of them, however, has come true.

Policemen, Civilians Injured

AU2503212691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Interior Ministry statement issued in Tirana on 25 March]

[Text] Citizens gathered in the city of Durres and attempted to enter the territory of the seaport by force, influenced by a false report that a foreign ship would receive them and take them abroad. The gatherings, repulsed several times by the forces of order, replied by throwing stones and other solid objects. As a result, 12 policemen and 16 civilians were slightly injured. Material damage was also caused: Two cars were damaged and several shop windows were broken by stones. Order was then restored to the city.

'Strategic Priority' of U.S. Relations

AU2503184691 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Mar 91 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "An Historical Chance for the Albanian People"]

[Text] The reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and the United States on 15 March was called "a great day in history." This is to give it its right name, just as the wide response it met among serious political and diplomatic circles is understandable. It could also be called historic in the history of our nation itself. While important for the times in which this step was taken, it must also be important for our entire history and destiny on the threshold of the new millennium. Europe and the whole world, to a greater or lesser extent, are experiencing and passing through a period of transition. This resembles every passage from one situation to another, but is today fortunately a transition to a higher sphere and a more humane human society. Albania too is in a phase of transition with its processes and efforts toward democratization and its efforts to reach a European level of civilization and to move with Europe in the coming decades. Our foreign policy, led by Comrade Ramiz Alia with realism and wisdom, is working and making its contribution to this noble goal.

This period of transition, if it is not to be longer than that of other countries, demands a reassessment of fundamental values and as complete an adaptation as possible to the times in which we live, and especially those knocking at our door. Nothing can be as it was before. Everything familiar has taken flight. Not even the concept of sovereignty and independence, let alone that of relations between nations and states, can be what it was a century or half a century ago. Such a reassessment demands that we review some of our strategic priorities in the foreign policy field. The current situation, national and international conditions, and especially some of the key moments that are called historic opportunities for a state's foreign policy and a nation's international relations demand this review. The reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the United States is such an opportunity. It is one of those infrequent opportunities in the foreign policy of small countries, and it must not be lost. The train must be caught on time.

It is well known that, among many other things, the extent of a country's power and its geographical position influence the determination of priorities in a state's foreign policy. With the transformations that have taken place in Europe and in international relations as a whole in the last two years, many classic and metaphysical schemata have been broken, and with them those defining priorities. The only basic thing that remains is the national interest, which is doubtless either benefited or damaged by a correct or incorrect definition of foreign policy priorities. The importance and consequences of such solutions are greater in the lives and histories of small countries than the role these countries play in the structure of international relations.

A correct and scientific prognostication of the Albanian state's foreign policy cannot be achieved without defining in an equally correct way our strategic priorities in this field. The discussion and establishment of the strategic priorities of our foreign policy must now more than ever be a subject of public, supraparty, and supraideological discussion, because it concerns the destiny of the Albanian people. One cannot review these priorities and seize the historic opportunity offered by the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the United States without reaching the conclusion, after a careful and

coolheaded analysis, that these relations should be raised to a strategic priority of our state's foreign policy. Bitter historical experience and the calculation of the entire complex of the major problems of today and the imponderables of the future in which our country is involved also leads you to this conclusion.

The deep and positive processes that took place in Europe in the last two years, and which are still developing, are often seen in relation to perestroyka. Looking below the surface, these democratizing processes and perestroyka itself were and are unimaginable without the prominent and positive role of the United States. The weight, role, and influence of the United States in the transformations in Europe also led to an expansion of its responsibility in world affairs. Europe and the world are in the process of constructing a new system of international security, after the exhaustion of the system established after World War II. At that time, nobody asked us, and we had no opportunity of exerting any influence, concerning the place our country would occupy in this system. It is totally different today, and erroneous solutions would no longer simply be mistakes. The main result of the construction of the new system is the destruction of the bipolar schema of the management and structure of international relations. One pole, the Soviet empire, disintegrated, and although it continues to maintain its military weight, it no longer carries the influence it did 10 or five years ago. Other poles of world power are in the process of creation, but this is not something that will take place overnight. Under these conditions, the other pole, and at the moment the only pole, is the United States, which has emerged the strongest and most successful in the battle to surmount old equilibria and to search for new ones. Collapsing empires are like old houses whose roofs fall on your head if you do not get out.

We want to enter Europe, but the most important and in the political, economic, and military sense exceptionally decisive part of this Europe is the United States. Together with Canada, the United States is a member of the CSCE precisely because of its ties with European affairs and the weight in carries in them. Seen in this light, it is understandable that our ties with the United States may and will also have a very great influence on the relations of our country with other countries in both West and East Europe.

Our national cause also has a history of ties with the United States. It is appropriate here to recall the support given by the United States to the new Albanian state after independence in 1912 and the personal commitment of President Wilson at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference to the defense of our state's territorial integrity against the greed of chauvinist neighbors. We are moving toward the new century with the Albanian question unsolved. The recent history of international relations has known similar issues, such as the German problem. We have said that history did its own work, and Germany was reunited. We have also stated the fact that it was Gorbachev who gave his consent. However, it must not be forgotten that neither the first nor the second would have happened without the will of the United States. The peaceful solution of the German problem is a historical example and an experience whose starting point lay in the United States. It is an example that may lead peacefully to a redress of the historical injustices done to the Albanian people. The support that the United States has expressed for the national, democratic, and human rights of the Albanian people of Kosovo, in the statements of high-level U.S. political personalities, the many resolutions of the U.S. Congress against the repressions and brutal policies of Serbia in Kosovo, and political and propaganda support for the issue of Kosovo are extremely important elements that must be borne in mind..

In discussing problems of the strategic priority of our relations with the United States, it is clear that am also bear in mind the theories of the "Balkanophiles" and the rhetoricians of "neighborliness." The world of the 21st century does not place the same value on geographical proximity as did that of the 19th century. Moreover, the many-centuries-old historical experience of our people and homeland, one-half of whose territories have been seized by neighbors in the north and south, does not provide much basis for rhetoric of this kind. No doubt, we are and must be in favor of good-neighborliness, but this must not be seen as historical forgetfulness and a need to pay a national toll. As an independent and sovereign state that wishes to build its own life in peace, we want calm on our borders, but this must mean calm on both sides of the borders. As for the relationship between security and geographical proximity, this has now acquired another meaning, and the example of Kuwait, which was attacked and invaded by its "Arab neighbor and brother" Iraq and was liberated by a coalition that came from a long way away, is significant when one makes cold calculations.

We have a long history of ties with the United States and the American people. The Albanian people cannot forget and are very grateful to the American people, who for a century have generously welcomed and held in their bosom the great waves of migrant labor before World War II and the wave of emigration from Kosovo after it. The Albanian community in the United States, its integration, and its distinguished work there, are proof of the affinity that exists and must be strengthened between our peoples.

It is important that diplomatic relations were reestablished between Albania and the United States at an important turning point in the life of our people, on the threshold of the 31 March elections, and when the national interest is increasingly assuming its proper place as the lode star of our state's foreign policy. With this star, we will identify the correct strategic priorities in foreign policy and will be more sure of our existence as a nation and of our place among and coexistence with the civilized nations of Europe and the world.

PDSh Says U.S. To Issue 'Blank Check'

AU2503103891 Paris AFP in English 0804 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Jean Lasar report]

[Text] Tirana, March 25 (AFP)—If Albania's main opposition party wins the country's first free elections on March 31, it will receive a "blank cheque" from the United States for humanitarian aid, the party's leader said. Gramoz Pashko, chairman of the three-month-old Democratic Party [PDSh], told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in an interview here Sunday that the promise of an immediate "blank cheque" had been made to him recently when he visited the State Department in Washington. "Just win the elections and you'll have it," he said he was told.

Mr. Pashko's statement was backed by a member of a U.S. delegation visiting Tirana, who added that while such a promise had indeed been made, it was based on an election victory by "the democratic forces" and not one particular political grouping. But was such an American promise not a double-edged electoral argument that might hurt the Albanians' national pride, Mr. Pashko was asked. "Not at all," he replied, "They need to know that the world has not abandoned them."

Mr. Pashko said his movement had the backing and confidence not only of the United States but also of Greece, especially after a meeting Saturday with leaders of the ruling conservative New Democracy Party, and of the entire European Community.

Calling for as much foreign humanitarian aid as possible, the opposition leader suggested setting up a distribution system independent of the government, arguing that the Albanian Red Cross did not fulfil this role. Mr. Pashko conceded that other aid promised by the United States in the form of financial gifts or loans and investments would not be forthcoming until parliament had adopted new laws on private property and protection of foreign investments.

Although Mr. Pashko is a trained economist, his party's economic programme is not entirely clear. While he has spoken of "complete privatization" and setting up a market economy, he added immediately that "there will be stages" and that not all sectors would be affected. For example, tourism and telecommunications would definitely be moved into the private sector, "perhaps" oil, but not electricity and water.

The Democratic Party has placed priority in the country's economic development on service industries such as small business, restaurants and hotels, along with infrastructure, light industry and consumer goods.

Under the party's programme, foreign companies investing in Albania will be able to repatriate profits. But a taxation system would favour firms concentrating on the Albanian market and ploughing their profits back into the country.

The Democratic Party supports privatization of the land, unlike the communist Albanian Party of Labour (APL), which announced this weekend it would rename itself the Socialist Party when it holds a congress on May 13.

Albanian President Ramiz Alia, the APL leader, was quoted Sunday by the party newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT as saying late Saturday that the congress would be devoted to "transforming the party."

U.S. State Department Officials Arrive

AU2003203991 Tirana ATA in English 1910 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 20 (ATA)—Functionaries of the U.S. State Department arrived in Tirana on March 20 in the framework of the preparations for the opening of the U.S. Embassy in Tirana.

At the airport the U.S. diplomats were welcomed by the chief of the Protocol Branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kostaq Cifliku.

Alia Delivers Speech to PPSh National Aktiv

LD2503144391 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia at the National Activists' meeting of the Albanian Workers' Party (PPSh) on 23 March; place not given]

[Text] Tirana, March 24 (ATA)—The national party activists meeting is of special importance as for the problems it treated of and for the time it is being held.

The world political developments should attract our attention. The war against Iraq ended, its forces withdrew from Kuwait, but the Middle East situation continues to remain tense and fraught with old and new contridictions.

We must be on guard, because south east Europe borders the Middle East. We must also be cautious because of another reason: The events in the Balkans particularly in Yugoslavia are following a dangerous path. They in Yugoslavia already speak openly of disintegration of the federation. Serb hegemony, civil war, etc. Oppression and repressive measures on Kosovo and the Albanians in other regions have been intensified.

All those pose danger to our country too. Precisely for this we should be on guard and always ready to safeguard freedom and independence of the homeland. Nothing, either the political struggle at home, or economic difficulties, etc., should weaken our defence.

Our meeting is conducted after two bitter events which happened in our country. I mean the events related with the toppling of the monument to Enver Hoxha and the exodus of many Albanian nationals to Greece and Italy.

There is something in common in these two events: the aim is to deal blows to our party, to discredit it, to split, to weaken its links with the masses. It is understood that these may be the goals of the opponents of the PLA, the external forces who are interested in provoking bloodshed in Albania, to cause its destabilization at home, to divide the nation.

The February 20 event was as barbarous as painful not only for every communist, but also for every honest national and Albanian patriot. This pain together with the revolt were clearly manifested through the manifestations held throughout the country in defence of the name and work of Enver Hoxha. In this case too the party displayed its maturity, because it knew how to restrain passions and resort to logic.

Another grave event is that of exodus of people, most of whom youngsters, to Greece and Italy. Here it is not about discussing whether it could be avoided or not. It is essential to analyse why did it happen, who instigates it, whom does it serve to. It is not explained only for economic causes if we consider that amongst them there are many children under 16 years of age, or that most of them were employed. Why after 45 years the peasants of Vraka starting thinking of having their relatives in Montenegro? The opposite says that this was done by the PLA to reduce the votes of its opponents. Nonsense. Has the party in power to organize such an exodus, discrediting the state it runs only for the votes which may elect only a deputy?

No doubt, such an exodus has been instigated, as it was done on July 2 last year with the events in the embassies. Why should Belgrade report on the same day when the events in Durres happened that it is ready to accept 25 thousand Albanians of Slav origin? Wasn't it an open appeal similar with rumors that on this or that date borders or embassies would open, or ships and ferryboats would come even from America to get everyone who wants to [word indistinct]? Should we please Albania's enemies, who have always dreamt of seeing her sons distributed throughtout the world?

We have had even more economic difficulties, but have never had such an emigration. On the other hand, economy cannot recover if people do not work. Over these two months alone, due to absentees at work, non realization of plans, we have had as many losses as those caused by the drought of last year. The remedy is not to turn back, but the strengthening of the work in the state organs and above all by working with a strict discipline and establishing rigorous rules at work. An end should be put to liberalism once and for all.

It is the last week of March. The election campaign is in its climax, said Comrade Ramiz Alia.

As in every work, in the elections too we should be realistic. We know that the people loves the party because they have shared their destinies for 50 years running.

But there are also people who question the achievements, who make use of difficulties and shortcomings as an argument to deny the past, who speculate with the lovely image of Europe to evaluate the work and sacrifices of the people. They do everything to shift the blame on the party, to divert the masses from the party.

The people needs security for the future, he needs to trust someone. Under these complex national and international situations, when dangers may appear all of a sudden, because there are states which are interested in destabilizing Albania, the people needs to see clearly, so as never be taken aback. They will also know how to come out of the economic crisis. This can be attained neither by the will of heavens, but through propaganda slogans that allegedly Europe or America will give Albania a white cheque.

Europe and America, and anyone else, will help Albania in case we the Albanians will work, if the political forces that will win in the elections will know to use thriftily the ground and underground assets, will know how to reform the economy so as to modernize it and become more efficient, will know how to cooperate with foreign businesses on the basis of mutual profit.

Our party is initiator of the democratization of the country. It has worked and works with courage and determination in this direction. Even after the elections we will consistently [words indistinct]. Our party is for cooperation with all the political forces who want to [words indistinct] democratic processes in all the fields.

This constructive cooperation, our party will work for, is not only to the benefit of the development of democracy on the whole, but it also contributes to the fundamental questions, national unity, the unity of the whole people.

The other question I want to speak about concerns the party congress, which as for the time it will be held is ordinary but it may be called extraordinary as for its importance and the problem it will tackle with.

The 10th congress of the party will be held in a complicated period of time, in difficult situations, under special conditions. Following the pluralist elections a new situation will be created at home, which will give rise to numerous political, economic and social problems. For all these the party should have to determine its concrete stands.

We have to analyse the past realistically. We should define how to realise the goals in the future, the roads we will pursue, preserving the existing social, economic and psychologic stability.

There is no need for our party to deny its past. On the contrary such events as the national liberation war, the creation of the new state of people's democracy, transformations in the countryside, agrarian reform and collectivization of agriculture, industrial development, revolution [words indistinct], the improvement of people's health, the struggle to defend freedom and independence

of the homeland from the foreigners attacks, etc., are historic victories which honour our party and its founder and leader, Enver Hoxha, just as they honour every other communist.

But have we made mistakes? Certainly [words indistinct] may say that today too we will make mistakes. No political force cannot avoid mistakes. No individual too can be infallible. Therefore in our congress will consider the line we have pursued not to divert from the road of socialist ideals, but to make (?evident) those mistakes we ought to correct and not to repeat them any longer. We will do it will tranquillity and objectivity.

Nano Speaks on Economic Problems, Absenteeism

AU2203210891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Fatos Nano met and conducted a warm conversation with cadres and specialists of Lushnje District today. He concentrated on explaining various problems connected with the economic reform prepared by the government, the political and economic situation, and our country's international relations.

Pausing to explain the social situation created since political pluralism was permitted, he stressed that an impermissible truancy of people from their tasks in production is unfortunately evident. This is apparent in your district too, he said. People neglect work, devoting more attention to politics and the electoral struggle in what is a totally novel situation for us. Lushnje is an agricultural district, he said, with more than 140,000 inhabitants; however, its agricultural capacities are planned to secure food for at least 1 million people. The state has made large investments for this purpose. We observe with regret that normal agricultural production is imperiled.

Under such conditions, the premier pointed out, we must prudently turn to the solution of production problems. The government is committed to discussing these issues with the logic of a specialist, with all representatives of the various parties. It is making serious efforts to bring people back to work and to put an end to this absenteeism which is so harmful to production. For this purpose, the reforms it has drafted anticipate a transition to a market economy by gradual steps, preserving the social achievements so far, and respecting the traditions and specific opportunities of our country.

We have also noticed here and there calls for hasty steps to upset the existing balances between the individual, the collective, and the state in agriculture, to destroy the present structure in this sector. This would be very damaging if it were done in an ill-considered and adventurist way. We favor creating various forms of incentives, making the peasant an owner through economic levers, making him more interested in production. We must bear in mind, he emphasized, that agricultural crops are mainly being sown now, and that all state organisms and all political and social forces must commit themselves to ensuring at all costs the normal rate of production. Of course, as is well known, the government, to secure food supplies to the people, has taken measures to purchase the necessary goods from abroad, and these are gradually arriving. The undesired events at some of our country's ports disrupted the normal rate of arrival of these shipments. Nevertheless, putting the public order situation under control, in these places has made it possible to normalize the import of foodstuffs. Of course, the prime minister emphasized, foreign aid or the purchase of food from other countries cannot be the main solution for current problems of supplying the people with the necessary staple consumer goods. The basis for a positive change to this situation must be the commitment of all working people to their labor.

Answering many questions posed from the floor, Comrade Fatos Nano spoke about the opportunities offered by privatization for the reemployment of working people who are laid off from the state administration and unprofitable enterprises. He stressed the growing role of the state [word indistinct] under the conditions of a mixed economy. He stressed that the anticipated foreign investments will no doubt help to unblock various difficult (?bottlenecks) in the economy, because substantial amounts of such investment have not been agreed on and are expected to be carried out.

In connection with our country's international relations, he stressed the special importance of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the United States. Fatos Nano also spoke about the dangerous situation created in a Balkan country, present relations with the EEC and the United States, etc.

In answer to a question, Comrade Fatos Nano said that our government has made every efforts to integrate our country in European processes. In this context, it is working seriously to establish normal economic and diplomatic relations with the EEC. To be in Europe does not necessarily mean being a member of the EEC. We will all go together to the Europe of the future, without sparing any effort to raise the economy of our country to European levels. The government, he stressed, is interested in using and exploiting the new chances offered by the interest of other countries in a stabilized Albania. He appreciated positively the recent official statements of the U.S. State Department, whose representatives have pointed out that the United States will respect Albania's integrity and sovereignty.

On his return journey to Tirana, Comrade Fatos Nano stopped in the town of Kavaje, where he met and conducted a friendly conversation with the town's inhabitants.

Premier Nano Meets Tirana Electors

AU2503162591 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 25 (ATA)—On March 24, a meeting was organized at the Higher Institute of Arts where Premier Fatos Nano met with working people of the capital to analyse the program of the government on the new economic reform. Amongst the participants there were also inhabitants of the city quarters included in No. 213 Precinct, Where comrade Fatos Nano is proposed candidate for deputy to the People's Assembly.

Fatos Nano said that we are experiencing an historic period. On the initiative of the Party of Labour and Comrade Ramiz Alia, the processes of the democratization of the life were initiated and are being translated into life in our country.

Speaking of the economic reform initiated by the government, the premier said that its fundamental goal is to accelerate the democratic processes in the field of economy, to overcome the difficult economic situation, to gradually transform the centralized economy into market economy, etc. The program of the government on the economic reform, he said, will be implemented first and foremost on our work and sweat and by strengthening cooperation with the other countries. This reform will be gradually applied preserving social, economic and psychological stability of people.

It is to the good of the progress of the country, he said, to sit and talk together with different political forces. We have spiritual forces to cope with the situation. We have a political program which lays the stress on the need of turning to work, particularly in agriculture. Speaking of the law on the privatization of economy, he said that this process opens the road to new activities.

Further on he dwelt on the relations of Albania with the neighbouring countries of the Balkans, Europe, etc., the dangerous situations created in Yugoslavia, on the current relations with the European Community and the U.S.A., etc. Speaking of the relations of Albania with Italy, he said that they keep strengthening. The signing of the memorandum on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations of Albania with the U.S.A., he said, opens perspectives to our country for signing economic, technical, scientific, financial agreements, etc.

PDSh, PPSh Electoral Meetings in Berat, Patos

AU2203200491 Tirana ATA in English 1022 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 22 (ATA)—The branch of the Democratic Party [PDSh] for the district of Berat organized a rally on occasion of the beginning of the election campaign. The rally was opened by the chairman of this branch, Fehmi Telegrafi who stressed among others that the Democratic Party will see to the March 31 elections as a democratic force, in tranquillity and with tolerance.

Different speakers in the rally dwelt on the program of the DP, the problem of women, the agrarian problem, the functioning of the Army, the organs of justice and forces of order in the conditions of the juridical state and laid the stress in the construction of a society which harmonizes the interests of the individual with the human rights in the development of the homeland through a dialogue among all the political forces of the country. The member of the Steering Commission of the Democratic Party, Dr. Gramoz Pashko, greeted in the name of the Commission.

The Labour Party (PLA) [Albanian Workers Party—PPSh] Committee of Patos organized an activists' meeting to analyse the election program of the PLA.

Speaking of this program, the representative of this party Prof. Dr. Harilla Papajorgji laid the stress on the restructuring of the economy through the development of agriculture by investments and other material and human sources services and tourism, the better exploitation of the great assets on the ground and underground. This restructuring of the branches of the economy will be made in the context of the market economy, while safeguarding and consolidating the hitherto social gains.

PRSh, PDSh Hold Electoral Meetings

AU2503162691 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 25 (ATA)—The branch of the Republican Party (RP) [PRSh] for Shkoder District held its conference to analyse the work done and to define the tasks for the election campaign and in the future.

Different speakers dwelt on the analysis of the election program of this party. They said that the RP asks all the political forces of the country to see to March 31 elections in tranquillity and social peace, so that the people elect that program they like and vote for those people who deserve people's trust.

The branch of the Democratic Party for Lushnje District organized a rally. After speaking of the extensions and growth of the numbers of this party throughout the country, the speakers pointed to the fact that the main goal of the Democratic Party is to realise democracy as soon as possible as the first step to national progress through free pluralist elections of March 31.

The branch of the Democratic Party for Sarande District organized a rally. The speakers spoke among others on the historic importance of March 31 elections as the first free and democratic elections and pointed to the goals of the election program of the Democratic Party.

They also laid the stress on the democratic spirit of Sarande people, their desire to conduct free democratic elections and to vote for the best representatives of the people.

Rights Forum: Political Prisoners Still Held

AU2503193291 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Mar 91 p 4

[Statement by the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights; place and date not given]

[Text] The Forum for the Protection of Human Rights appreciates the release of another group of political prisoners sentenced for various kinds of crimes against the state, according to the decree of the People's Assembly dated 12 March 1991. The number of persons who left the prisons on 17 March amounts to 123.

On the other hand, the Forum observes that the question of the release of political prisoners has not been finally solved. The official statement issued on the occasion of the aforementioned decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, according to which there are no more political prisoners in Albania, does not correspond to reality. Political prisoners of various categories remain in our prisons.

The Forum is convinced that there are people who have been unjustly sentenced on the basis of false charges or confessions extracted through physical or psychological violence, and classified as spies, saboteurs, terrorists, etc. There are others serving sentences for attempts to flee the country or to cross the border illegally at a time when thousands have crossed the border and have returned without suffering any consequences. There are also many who took part in demonstrations and expressed their desires and views, but have been classified as violators of public order or common criminals. In such cases, penal reeducation is arbitrary and groundless, and in fact serves as an excuse to sentence and keep in prison people who have voiced their opinions aloud. These are all political prisoners.

The Forum expresses the desire of the broadest possible public in confidently submitting to the responsible authorities the request for the release of all political prisoners. The Forum calls on all political forces to support this request with the aim of making Albanian a country genuinely without political prisoners as soon as possible.

Spokesman Responds to Amnesty International

AU2503201391 Tirana ATA in English 1859 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Statement by unidentified spokesman of the Albanian Government; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, March 25 (ATA)—During the current month, the Albanian Government has received a considerable number of letters sent by the members of "Amnesty International" organisation from all over the world. They express the same worry over the latest February events at the United Higher Officers School in Tirana and suggest that an independent investigation commission to view the situation so as to throw light on the alleged murders or tortures committed by the military forces and those of order against the civic population of Tirana.

The Albanian Government respects the humanitarian feelings inspiring the members of this organisation. It itself has expressed worry over the events occurred and has taken the necessary measures to avoid excesses by any social or state force. Under the new conditions of political pluralism in our country, this is a difficult task, but realizable with the help of the well-wishers of democracy in Albania and the world. To this aim, relations are established also with the Helsinki Human Rights Federation and other humanitarian organisms which have already visited our country and, besides they are offered the proper explanations on the latest February events (not only on those at the Officers' School, but also on those at the "Skenderbeg" Square and elsewhere).

We deem it necessary to repeat that the Army and the forces of order in Albania have neither acted nor will they act against their own people, but only in defence of democracy and the homeland against the enemies of the latter, in accordance with the rules of the juridical state.

We welcome the concern and suggestions by any political or humanitarian organisation on human rights and other problems that might emerge in our country.

Cameria Association Holds Conference

AU2603095791 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Mar 91 pp 3-4

[Hamdi Jupe article: "A Voice Has Begun To Speak, the Voice of Cameria"]

[Text] The first national conference of the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association was organized on Sunday [17 Mar] in the concert hall of the Palace of Culture in the capital.

Besides delegates from all the association's district branches, invited historians, linguists, archaeologists, and press, ATA, radio, and television journalists also took part.

Gazali Sejko, a delegate from the association's Durres branch, opened the conference.

Abaz Dojaka spoke on behalf of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association.

It is about two months since a new voice began to speak in our country, a voice hitherto little heard, that of the sons of Cameria. This voice was always among us, part of the voice of the Albanians who have lived for thousands of years in the Balkans "from Tivar [Bar, Yugoslavia], to Preveze [Preveza, Greece]," as Vaso Pasha puts it. For hundreds of years it has spoken with the language of the gun to defend freedom against Roman, Byzantine, Slav, and Ottoman invaders. It has spoken in the learned language of Hasan Tahsini and Dora D'Istria, who awoke

the Albanians to national awareness on two continents during our brilliant renaissance. It has spoken in the fiery speech and through the rifle barrel of Hero of the People Ali Demi and hundreds of martyrs and partisans in the war against the Italian and German Fascist invaders. It has spoken in the melodies of songs, the rhythms of dances, and the colors of enchanting costumes as an irreplaceable part of this nation's cultural wealth.

The problem of Cameria is not just a problem of the Cams but of all Albanians. Now this voice has begun to speak again. As soon as they heard of the approval of the creation of the Cameria Political and Patriotic Association, this bud of a pluralist spring, the sons of Cameria gathered in all the districts of the country to which the "scattered blood" of Cameria had been dispersed, raising their voices in demand of their legitimate rights. We saw them in ardent but prudent discussion in their district meetings, as they recalled the glorious and tragic history of their forebears, as they wept to remember their beloved lands, which they left in flames, and as they vowed to strive with all their strength to rekindle their maternal hearth.

With these impressions, we enter the hall where the Cameria Association's National Conference is taking place. Delegates from all the branches of this association in various districts have come. There are emotional meetings, kisses and embraces, questions about parents, relatives, and children. This is more than the festive atmosphere of a normal meeting. It is a meeting of people who have not seen each other for years, a coming together of hearts of one blood—white-haired old people who would hardly step out of doors for any other reason, ardent and enthusiastic young people, meditative women, lovely girls, and folk musicians who have come from the districts to greet the conference. This is the mosaic of the conference.

While the comrades took their places on the dais, a suggestion came from the floor. "Let us hold one minute's silence for the thousands of martyrs of Cameria massacred by Zervas' [World War II Greek guerrilla leader] executioners." This silence of standing people expressed sorrow for shot mothers and fathers, for bayoneted children, and the sick and dead on the paths of flight through nights filled with gunshots and flames. It was a tragedy unprecedented in the history of our nation. Its true chronicle is in the painful songs of the people of this region, collected and published by the researcher Fatos Mero Rrapaj.

The speech of Abaz Dojaka, member of the association's Initiating Commission, analyzed the items in the association's program. This program expresses the truth about Cameria and its populace. Cameria is Albanian land, historically recognized centuries ago and asserted to be such by different personalities. In 1913, it was unjustly detached from the body of Albania, like Kosovo. Reactionary circles used the weapon of religion to divide the Cams, calling the Muslim Cams Turks and deporting them to Turkey, and calling the Orthodox Cams Greeks and starting the campaign to rob them of their nationality. Those who did not submit to this policy fell prey to massacres in World War II and were forced to emigrate to Albania. This is a truth that official circles in Greece refuse to accept even today. However, modern democratic Europe recognizes the rights of minorities within states and has sanctioned them in its important documents. This Europe must also recognize the rights of the Orthodox Cams who live in Greece today to have their language, schools, and culture.

It must also recognize the right of the Cam emigres who live in Albania today to maintain contacts with their brothers who live in Greece. If they wish, they should also have the right, on the basis of international law, to return to their territories and to the property that was taken from them illegally. As is evident, these are rights enjoyed by all minorities, including the Greek minority in Albania. In order to realize these aims, the Cameria Association will work to make public opinion at home and abroad sensitive to this problem. It believes that there are also positive forces in Greece that are able to judge realistically the problems of history and the present day. If one issues a declaration about minorities as bridges of friendship between peoples, one must hold fast to this declaration on both sides of the border, it was said at the conference.

This is the essence of the association's work. The words of the many speakers who took the floor brought the hall to its feet. Fadil Zeqiri, a delegate from the Vlore branch, said that one-third of the population of this city consists of Cams. "We have still not seen our forebears' gravestones," he said, and recalled that the first congress of Cams was held in Vlore in 1945. Petrit Kasemi, chairman of the Tirana branch, delivered a fiery speech and spared no criticism of our academic and research institutions for their silence on the problem of Cameria. Abdyl Hyseni, chairman of the Lushnje branch, after citing data concerning the local Cam population and the high and medium-level cadres that were trained in our country after the liberation, issued an appeal for none of our sons to take the road to foreign countries during this time through which the country is passing. Daman Sinani, a representative from Elbasan District, expressed his gratitude to the district authorities for helping to create the necessary conditions for the work of the Cameria Association's branch there. Naim Dalipi from Fier called on the help of Byron to evoke the beauties of Cam song and dance, because the guitar-player's song so beautifully described by the English poet in his masterpiece was none other than a Cam song and dance. Rifat Aliu from Durres said, "If you were to ask me which I would like resurrected, my father or Cameria, with all my heart I would say Cameria, because my father would die again, but my homeland would never die." Those present listened with great emotion to the speech of the researcher from Korce Laurant Bicaj, who had not coincidentally chosen the life and work of Hasan Tahsini to defend his dissertation for the title of candidate of sciences.

These speeches culminated in the poetic speech of Abedin Hasani, a delegate from Sarande. He is not a poet, but a worker in the tractor spare parts warehouse in Sarande. However, the lines he wove resembled the masterpiece of a real poet. They were lines that flowed from the soul of a people. They were words in the language that Naim Frasheri called "the language of God," ["gluhe perendie," Cam dialect in original]. The hall rose to its feet in applause several times and shouted, "Publish it, publish it!"

Of course, it will be published, because this association's newspaper will shortly appear and will speak with a strong voice in defense of the national rights of the splendid Cam people. It will be another voice in search of the truth about our national cause in the choir of our pluralist press. However, it needs to be supported and heeded by public opinion throughout society, by the political parties, and by the new state that will emerge from the 31 March elections, because it is part of our voice and the cause of the entire nation. We believe that this is what will happen.

Foreign Minister Returns From United States

AU2103145191 Tirana ATA in French 1157 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, 21 Mar (ATA)—Foreign Minister Kapllani has returned to Albania after signing the memorandum on the reestablishment of U.S.-Albanian diplomatic relations in Washington and after a visit to Italy.

He was met at Rinas Airport by Health minister Dr. Kastriot Islami; Moikom Zeqo, chairman of the Committee for Culture and the Arts; Deputy Foreign Minister Sokrat Plaka, and other Foreign Ministry officials.

BSDP Holds Party Congress; Reelects Dertliev

AU2503212991 Sofia BTA in English 2030 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 25 (BTA)—Dr. Petur Dertliev, 75, was elected chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party (BSDP) by a show of hands at the party's 38th Congress. Dr. Dertliev, one of the most popular politicians in Bulgaria, co-chairman of the parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), had no challenger for the post which he had been holding since the restoration of the party after the downfall of the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria.

The congress adopted a Political Declaration which says that the BSDP distances itself from Marxism-Leninism and its relapses, that it is against Communism, Eastern socialism and other forms of totalitarianism.

The declaration emphasizes that the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) impedes the economic reform and the changes in the social and political spheres.

The BSDP faction will insist on the earliest possible conduct of parliamentary elections. The congress delegates from across the country said that general elections should precede local elections. The declaration also urges for the updating of the political forces' agreement.

The BSDP declared its support for a free market economy and a social security system, for equality of all forms of ownership and for the promotion of cooperative property.

According to the BSDP, the ethnic problems arise from the disintegration of the communist system and should be settled in compliance with the international bill of human rights and with Bulgaria's Constitution.

The BSDP assumes that Bulgaria's relations with the East European countries, the Soviet Union, China, India and the other countries in the Middle East, Southwest Asia and the Far East should be built on the basis of full economic and political sovereignty and that the relations with Western Europe, the U.S., Japan and Canada should pursue broader cooperation and mutual respect, the declaration says.

"The BSDP is considered a leading East European Social Democratic party," said Dr. Dertliev. The BSDP is among the largest parties in Bulgaria. With its 80,000 members it is the third force after the BSP and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party. Dr. Dertliev has the highest approval rating among the party leaders who do not hold government posts and the approval rating of his party is also high.

The 38th Congress of the BSDP was convened 58 years after the party's last regular congress. The 100-year old party was restored after the fall of the totalitarian regime. The BSDP and the Communist (now Socialist) Party have common beginnings but in their further development they have constantly opposed each other and even turned into political enemies under the Communist regime. The three-day congress proceedings showed how sensitive the Social Democrats are to the former Communists. They oppose compromise and cooperation with the BSP. The Honorary Chairman Mr. Atanas Moskov recalled that the BSDP shares a common ideology with the other members of the Socialist International. "We are not Socialists because we are Social Democrats and we are Social Democrats because we are Socialists," Mr. Moskov said. His words explain the attitude of the BSDP towards the former Communists, who have renamed themselves Socialists.

"Our attitude towards the SDS is more than clear," the report of the congress said. Thus the BSDP dismissed rumors that it intends to walk out of the coalition. The BSDP will remain in the SDS until the coalition fulfills its goals: Ousting the nomenklatura class from power.

President Zhelev Advocates Radical Reforms

AU2503142691 Vienna AZ in German 25 Mar 91 p 6

[Georg Hoffmann-Ostenhof report: Zhelev: We Will Carry out the Most Radical Reform"]

[Excerpts] Parliamentary President Heinz Fischer paid a visit to Bulgaria on Saturday [23 March]. As the deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria, Fischer assured the Bulgarian Social Democrats, the strongest group in the opposition alliance "Union of the Democratic Forces," of Austria's support at their party congress. Parliamentary President Fischer talked for an hour with State President Zhelyu Zhelev. An AZ reporter attended the meeting.

"We are carrying out the most radical economic reform. It is more radical than the Polish one," Zhelev, the president, philosopher, and former prominent dissident and leader of the opposition against the Zhivkov regime, stated. "We must convey thanks to the people. It has shown great maturity." [passage omitted]

A dispute has erupted in Bulgaria over the date for elections. The socialists want to go to the polls in the fall. The opposition wants elections in June. Zhelev has clear preferences. The people should make a decision as soon as possible. Zhelev believes that the reforms are too slow because the former communists who represent the majority in the legislature are impeding them. According to Zhelev, quick decentralization is necessary, and the old monopolies must be broken. "Competition will lead to a reduction of prices," he stressed. He fears that Western partners might lose their confidence if reforms are delayed. The empty treasury has been filled with loans amounting to $3 billion granted by the EC, the IMF, and other Western financial institutions after Zhivkov's overthrow.

What about Bulgaria's political future? Zhelev sees a polarization. On the one hand, there is the Communist Party that has been renamed the Socialist Party. The

party might split, and part of it might support the opposition. On the other hand, there is the Bulgarian right, which is in a dilemma according to Zhelev: "These forces are trying to reach a social group that does not yet exist—the rich," Zhelev pointed out. In the current situation, the political center, particularly the Social Democrats but also the Agrarian Union, which focus on social issues, have good chances. "The country needs a center," Zhelev stated. "Social peace is absolutely necessary" for the continuation of the reforms.

SDS Rally Calls for June 1991 Elections

AU2503220391 Sofia BTA in English 2046 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 25 (BTA)—Without new general and local elections which should put an end to the red Communist majority in the National Assembly, in the government and the municipal administrations, the success of the economic reform and the change of the political system is impossible, speakers told their audience at a rally called in the town of Blagoevgrad (Southwestern Bulgaria) this evening by the regional Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. There were repeated calls for a conduct of general and local elections in June.

It was emphasized that the elections will not impede the economic reform but will give an impetus to the democratic process. The BSP was blamed for breaking the law-making schedule of the Grand National Assembly by stalling its work and thus obstructing the passage of the laws which are vital for the success of the reform. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] drew fire for its campaign to discredit the opposition and its leaders so as to torpedo parliament and block its legislative operation. The local economic nomenklatura was compared to an orchestra well conducted by the ruling party. The speakers said that BSP representatives in towns like Blagoevgrad, where the opposition won the last elections, deliberately maintain an artificial shortage of consumer goods, puffed-up prices and low level of production. They result in mass job losses and unemployment and hence in social tensions and chaos.

The rally adopted a resolution addressed to parliament and to the SDS National Coordinating Council, urging them to raise the historical guilt of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] (BSP) and its leaders, as well as for a confiscation of the party's property

Vulkov on Personnel, Structural Changes

AU2503182991 Sofia BTA in English 1550 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 25 (BTA)—The Balkan states, Europe, the USSR, the U.S. and Canada, "European cooperation," the UN and disarmament, are some of the areas that will be supervised by the first deputy minister of foreign affairs, says the decree on the new structure and functions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that was adopted today by the Council of Ministers on the motion of Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

"This structure corresponds to the new priorities in Bulgaria' foreign policy," Mr. Vulkov told the BTA. The minister added that the structure of the departments handling relations with Europe, the U.S. and Canada will be further improved in compliance with the new trends in Bulgarian diplomatic activity.

The Foreign Ministry personnel will be halved by the end of April. This is consistent with the governments' policy of drastic reductions in budget expenditures. Diplomats and technical staff will be made redundant under a decision of the ministry's job evaluation commission.

The new structure of the ministry includes minister, first deputy minister and two deputy ministers. Three new positions will be established: chief secretary (ranking as deputy minister), parliamentary secretary and spokesman.

The decision of the former government to close down 20 diplomatic missions has proved overhasty. Bulgaria is now taking steps to reopen its mission in Thailand and to open a new mission on the "West coast of Latin America," Mr. Vulkov said.

Tomov Warns of Coming Unemployment Shock

AU2303164391 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Today Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Veliko Turnovo to take part in a ceremonial meeting organized by the municipal council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

Addressing the meeting, Aleksandur Tomov said that in two or three months the economic reform in Bulgaria is expected to enter an especially difficult period. This period will be marked by a substantial rise in unemployment, which will provide no less a shock than the rise in prices. The deputy prime minister considers that if Bulgarian society manages to cope with this crisis situation, from the beginning of next year one can bank on seeing the first results of a successful transition to the market economy.

Aleksandur Tomov also spoke about certain other dangers that may hamper the economic reform, as well as about the actions planned by the Council of Ministers for implementing the next stage of the reform.

Dertliev Supports Social Market Economy

AU2403142991 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] has 84,000 members and is the third largest party after the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the "Nikola Petkov" Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, Petur Dertliev said at today's news conference for foreign reporters at the 38th

BSDP Congress. He also expressed satisfaction with the reputation the BSDP has in Europe as one of the leading Social-Democratic Parties in the former socialist countries.

Our people have a very keen sense of social awareness, and anyone who tries to overlook this fact will quickly fail, Dertliev said. He supported the party's striving to create a social market economy in Bulgaria.

The foreign guests at the congress testified to the great interest with which they follow the debate at the congress, related to the party's charter, and wished the party success in the upcoming elections.

Fuel Shortage Seen Jeopardizing Autumn Harvest

AU2503124591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 21 Mar 91 p 1

[Stoyan Sirakov report: "Fuel Shortage Jeopardizes Autumn Harvesting]

[Text] An acute shortage of diesel fuel can be felt in agriculture, despite the priority this branch enjoys in distribution. If the necessary 30,000 tonnes are not ensured, it will be impossible to plough and sow this spring, and in the fall the country will be threatened by hunger. This information, provided by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, forced the Commission on Operational Coordination and Control Over the Country's Power and Raw Materials Supply to adopt a decision on releasing 10,000 tonnes from the state reserve.

In March three tankers delivered about 210,000 tonnes of oil to Bulgaria. Only 5,000 tonnes of mazut were received, however, and this caused difficulties. Nevertheless, it will not be necessary to stop the apartment heating, Aleksandur Tomov, chairman of the commission, said. He appealed to enterprises and companies that have foreign currency to supply their own fuel, rather than rely only on the government. The shortage could encourage the emergence of a free oil price, Aleksandur Tomov fears.

No problems are expected with the electric power supply until the end of the year. Problems could arise when the fifth reactor of the "Kozloduy" Nuclear Power Plant is switched off, and the sixth reactor activated. The restrictions will be minimal, Prof. Lyudmil Genov, chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, said. He announced that initially, 50 million U.S. dollars will be needed to observe all safety rules in the nuclear power plant.

The imbalance between the goods we export to the USSR and the fuels we receive from that country is growing. Because the new rate of the dollar has not been determined, the exporting enterprises are not paid. The commission set a provisional rate of seven leva to the dollar, until the government adopts a decision on this matter.

Kupen Dimov, deputy chairman of the "Petroleum" Company, thinks that the situation with gasoline supply has deteriorated in the last four days. He hopes that the anticipated 80,000 tonnes will be sufficient, because the people have learned to restrict themselves.

In the last 15 years there has not been such a limited supply of fuels, Aleksandur Tomov said.

Legislative Screening Process Deemed Necessary

AU2503132791 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Mar 91 p 1

[Captain Ivan Genov article: "Bomb Lies Somewhere Else"]

[Text] The debate on the report of the Credentials Commission reminds one of the existence of another commission—the one in charge of investigating personal files. Created in the past with the general consent of all political forces, it must help to purge the National Assembly of all informers and collaborators recruited by the political police of the totalitarian regime. The commission is headed by Georgi Tambuev, whose civic valor and incorruptibility hardly anyone doubts.

The commission's task is far from pleasant, however. Until now there has been no question about the fact that, willingly or not, we must pass through this purgatory of democracy. After all, for the first time we have freely elected a real legislature and we cannot afford the luxury of having a "faction" of former informers in it. Several puzzling things, to put it mildly, have emerged in recent days.

—One is impressed by the size of this "faction"—28 people—and the dominant political color of the faction;

—The persistent demand to refrain from publishing the names of informers puzzles every politically informed citizen. It was seriously pointed out that such an act would cause an explosion in the legislature.

Without indulging in boring details, I must recall that the Czechoslovak Government conducted three very thorough purges of people related to the former repressive services. This did not reduce the efficiency of that government. So far it has discussed and adopted more than 100 laws.

Clearly, it is not the files that are the "bomb," but rather the extralegislative pressure, disguised as "concern for democracy," and aimed at preventing the publication of those documents that offend somebody's narrow party ambitions and blocking the work of the Grand National Assembly.

Naturally, compromises could be made also with this fundamental issue, despite the fact that from the viewpoint of pure democracy, it must be above discussion. For example, one could give those who once sold their conscience the chance of finding the proper courage and

leaving the political scene discreetly, albeit without repentance. This would be much more dignified and civilized than the behind-the-scenes maneuvers aimed at defusing the "bomb." Nothing remains secret in the long run. Sooner or later the truth will come out. Why not do this as the proper order requires and as it was decided, namely, in the legislature?

Youth Declaration on Ethnic, Macedonian Issues

AU2503160691 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 20 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report on a declaration on Bulgaria's foreign policy adopted by "representatives of the basic youth organizations in Bulgaria": "National Policy of Republic of Bulgaria—Lasting and Without Opportunistic Influences"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the basic youth organizations in Bulgaria took place a few days ago at the invitation of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Youth Association.

We publish the Declaration on the Principles of Bulgaria's Domestic and Foreign Policy on the Ethnic Issue and Relations Between Ethnic-Cultural and Religious Communities in the Republic of Bulgaria adopted at the meeting and signed by authorized representatives:

The undersigned youth organizations, convinced of the necessity of conducting a lasting foreign policy of the Republic of Bulgaria, free of any opportunistic influences, have united around the following basic principles:

1. A long-term and comprehensive national program must be worked out with the participation of all legitimate political forces. Until such a program is adopted all decisions related to the ethnic issue and relations with ethnic-cultural and religious communities must be adopted by consensus.

2. The national policy of the Republic of Bulgaria must be based on total respect for international human rights agreements. The implementation of the individual rights and freedoms of some citizens should not violate the rights and freedoms of other citizens or threaten the national unity and territorial integrity of the country.

3. A permanent and uncompromising policy related to recognizing and respecting the basic human rights of all Bulgarian citizens who live outside the Republic of Bulgaria must be conducted in the spirit of the international human rights agreements.

4. The Bulgarian state must comprehensively assist the Republic of Macedonia in its striving for complete political self-determination. Attempts to violate the territorial integrity and state sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia must be opposed by all possible means.

5. The Bulgarian state must make it easier for all Bulgarian emigrants throughout the world to affiliate [priobshtavane] with the motherland. The efforts of our compatriots living in the developed Western countries to facilitate the cultural development of the Bulgarians in Bulgaria and outside its borders must be encouraged.

6. The Bulgarian cultural institutions and state and public organizations must thoroughly and objectively illuminate the past and present elements of the ethnic issue.

7. A consistent policy of consolidating the Bulgarian nation must be conducted through stimulating the opening and uniting of all ethnic-cultural and religious communities, while fully respecting the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The declaration was signed by the following authorized representatives: Atanas Manolov—Bulgarian Students Union; Krasimir Karakachanov—Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Youth Association; Emil Milanov—"Rodolyubets" Association on Developing Relations With Bessarabian and Thracian Bulgarians; Balcho Balchev—"Nikola Petkov" Agrarian Youth Union; Zhivko Kirov—National Youth Democratic Union; Nikolay Tonchev—Radical-Democratic Youth Club; Georgi Georgiev—Democratic Party Youth Union; Ventsislav Petrov—Bulgarian National-Radical Party Youth Section; Atanas Kiryakov—National Students Confederation; Yuriy Borisov—Socialist Youth Union; Vladislav Yanev—Social Democratic Youth Union; Stiliyan Ivanov—Bulgarian Socialist Youth Federation; Bogdan Karamanolov—Patriotic Youth Unions Federation; and Steliyan Stoychev—Independent Students Associations Federation.

Stoyan Ovcharov Trial Adjourned Indefinitely

AU2503162891 Sofia BTA in English 1441 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 25 (BTA)—Mr. Stoyan Ovcharov, ex-minister of the economy and planning, who faces a prison sentence of three to ten years on conviction of charges of malfeasance with the purpose of gaining advantage for another person, was allowed a breather today. After a month-long break his trial was again adjourned, this time indefinitely, because an important witness who is now working at the commercial-economic section of the Bulgarian Embassy in India, failed to appear in court.

In 1989, days before the change took place, Mr. Stoyan Ovcharov, who had quickly made his way to alternate membership of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], arranged for the ex-dictator's grandson to pursue his studies in Switzerland. This operation, which was later halted by the winds of change, cost the exchequer 7,756 Swiss francs.

To bring the "Indian" witness back will cost three and half times more than the damages inflicted by the ex-minister's "charity." The only possible solution are the plans for an overall combout of Bulgarian trade

representations abroad, if carried out, it will bring the important witness back by the end of May.

Today the witness subpoena served on Mr. Ivan Slavkov, Todor Slavkov's father, was enforced and he was brought before court to give evidence. He said that he had been concerned with his son's studies abroad until the moment he learned the matter had been arranged at the expense of the state, possibly, as he said, through the assistance of Todor Zhivkov. He said that in his opinion there was nothing wrong with a president's grandson studying abroad, and as regards the tuition and board expenses, he had settled the matter through the IOC [International Olympic Committee].

When Todor Zhivkov was subpoenaed as witness in the Ovcharov trial he disclaimed all responsibility, both of his ex-aide and his own. He said he was only concerned with the country where the young man was supposed to study. The ex-number one was trying to prove that any private person, including himself, was unable to meet such expenses.

The ex-No. 1 said about his grandson that he was not allowed to return to give evidence (Todor Slavkov faces charges of rape), and that he was a stateless person.

Stoyan Ovcharov was a witness in the Zhivkov-Balev trial which started about ten days after his own one. In court he denied his pretrial testimony, particularly the statements incriminating Zhivkov. "It was just my own private emotional evaluations," he said.

Markov's File Reportedly Destroyed by Officials

AU2503205591 Sofia BTA in English 2023 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 25 (BTA)—The police file of writer Georgi Markov was destroyed by three senior officers of the secret services, Bulgarian Television reported this evening, quoting a "reliable source." In a televised interview yesterday the president Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said that the file on emigre writer Georgi Markov, who died in London in mysterious circumstances in 1978, had disappeared. Today the television named the people who allegedly destroyed the file. One of them was identified as Mrs. Serkedzhieva, former chief of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Archives. Yesterday the president said that some files had disappeared.

The television reported that the Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office will take up the case tomorrow. Asked whether the missing file would affect the investigation into the causes of the death of dissident writer Georgi Markov, the Criminal Investigation Department declined to comment.

Havel Interviewed on EC Talks, Security, Future

LD2403193291

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1315 GMT on 24 March carries the weekly "Conversations at Lany" program interviewing CSFR President Vaclav Havel. The 27-minute recorded interview was conducted by Jiri Vejvoda in Havel's apartment in Prague on 23 March.

Asked about his visit to the Benelux countries and France, Havel sums up the visit, emphasizing talks he held in the European Communities and NATO. Vejvoda asks about an association agreement that is hopefully going to be concluded between the European Communities and Czechoslovakia. Havel points out its importance for the success of economic reform in Czechoslovakia. Havel admits that the issue of becoming a full member of the European Communities, which is Czechoslovakia's next aim, is not an easy one.

Havel calls his talks with the EC "very important." He says "Let us hope that the visit marks another step on our path toward this, the most integrated European institution."

Vejvoda probes further into the issue of an association with the EC, noting that there are voices that "appear to be doubting whether we will really become full community members by the end of the century."

Havel replies: "Naturally this will not be a simple process, but let us begin with the association agreement. This has been under discussion for some time now. Two rounds of expert talks have been held. Shortly before our visit to Brussels, the third round began. Our experts who are negotiating this agreement have been given very precise guidelines by the government. It is hoped that the agreement will be ready by autumn and that it can be initialled and possibly ratified by the end of the year.

"Perhaps I should say why the agreement is so important for us. There are several reasons. The agreement will substantially lift the restrictions on trade with EC countries in both directions. It will provide opportunities for the movement of capital and manpower. It means that our legislation will begin to adapt more markedly to the common European legislation in the fields of commercial and economic law. It also means much better opportunities in credit policy and so on. In short, without cooperation and association with the EC, we will find it very hard to put our economy on its feet. Naturally, the association agreement should serve as a stepping stone—at least that is how we see it—to full membership. We would like to see the prospect of full membership declared directly in the agreement.

"Full membeship is no simple matter. We discussed it with all the politicians and with President Mitterrand. Some of the countries, among them France in particular, are rather reserved on the issue of accepting new members into the EC. Full membership, you see, also entails a substantial curtailment of state sovereignty, particularly now that the EC is preparing to forge a political union, which would actually be a federative unit in essence, with the individual states delegating a fairly large chunk of their political power to one joint leadership. It is impossible to foretell precisely how the EC will continue to develop, but a number of interim stages can be envisaged between the association agreement and full membership. For example, it is possible to envisage more thorough integration in the political sphere. This could probably happen sooner and more quickly because we share the same political values and ideals as the EC member states. Economic integration could perhaps come about only at some later stage. In short, there are various possible ideas about its future development. It is even possible to imagine us becoming full members before the end of this millennium, but on the other hand, we may not manage that either. It depends primarily on us, of course, but it also depends on the overall development of the EC and on a number of factors in the international context."

Vejvoda asks Havel about the reaction to his address at the NATO Council. The president emphasizes how important cooperation with NATO is for Czechoslovakia. Asked about the allegedly growing security orientation toward the West, replacing a so-called dissidents' original Helsinki-process based idealistic concept, Havel points out that Europe is gradually getting used to the notion of a new democratic European alliance expected to emerge on the basis of the Helsinki process.

Havel says: "It is interesting that in all my talks the politicians I spoke to returned to the topic of Europe adopting in a certain way, or to put it more precisely, getting used to the idea of Europe not being divided any more into two blocs or two alliances standing against each other, as was the situation for decades. Europe has to search instead for a new form of European security, one that would include all the European democratic states, both in the West and East, which would have its inevitable and natural link to the North American Continent and which would, at the same time, take into account the involvement of whatever is formed on the territory of the Soviet Union or whatever the Soviet Union is turning into.

"The Helsinki process is the natural ground where something of this kind could be formed, because it involves all these countries. This is being called the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Since the beginning it has had this security dimension. This process has lately acquired a new dynamism, a new order. The Paris Charter, which we signed in Paris in autumn, is a significant step forward. The process is attaining the character of an institution. As you know, we have its permanent secretariat here. It is possible to imagine that in the future the agreements, which so far have been more like recommendations to the governments, will gradually acquire a more binding character and will really begin to assume the nature of a system of certain mutual guarantees and interaction.

"However, this is not the only thing we can rely on. After all, this is just a certain vision, a certain project. It is necessary to also pay attention to the organizations that exist now and to look for common language with them, to look for forms of cooperation, taking into account that they can, to a certain extent, expand beyond their structure in the future. The London NATO declaration signaled the intent of this alliance to transform itself, reflecting the new situation in Europe.

"Thus, it is natural in the international policy that various efforts are under way at the same time: in other words, more games are played at the same time. Time and history will show which of them have more prospects and which have fewer prospects. It is open, and everything is subordinated to the spirit of the vision of the all-European community, which will have also an all-European system of security guarantees against any possible threat."

Havel then comments on his talks with President Mitterrand, which concentrated on Mitterrand's idea of a European confederation. He notes that there will be a conference held in Prague in June to discuss the issue.

Asked whether he discussed the issue of Czechoslovakia's constitutional set-up during his visit to Belgium, the country where two nations coexist, Havel points out the extraordinary interest that was shown in the current problems in Czechoslovakia.

Havel states: "Everywhere I met with a totally unambiguous stance. To become a democratic and prospering part of the democratic and prospering Europe, we have to be one entity, no matter what our territorial arrangement is. We have to be one entity that is based on certain work that has already been done, on the 70-year existence of our state, which includes thousands of agreements. We have to be an entity that is not going to be built from scratch, with enormous problems arising from a possible division of the state and its economy, which are so intertwined.

"All those people showed a great interest in this issue. I told all of them that the majority of our citizens are in favor of coexistence in a common state and a federative set-up. The issue is what kind of a federation it is going to be.

"I confirmed the existence of a minority who would like to see separation, who would like to have an independent state in Slovakia. At the same time I emphasized that it is a choice to be made by the Slovak nation. Nobody wants to suppress its independence. What is important is to carry this out in a constitutional manner.

"My view is, of course, that the only way for our two nations is a federative set-up. I know that my view is shared by the majority of our citizens, both the Czechs and the Slovaks."

Asked whether he wants to comment on this week's events on the domestic political scene, Havel says he would not like to comment before he gets more information. Nevertheless, he stresses once more that he considers his decision to go to see last week's Bratislava rally, where he was attacked, to be a correct decision, because otherwise it would mean avoiding conflict areas. The president should not pretend that everything is fine when there are problems. The other thing he mentions is that Matica Slovenska intends to take his spokesman, Zantovsky, to court, accusing him of offending the Slovak nation. Havel thinks this is an artificial creation of an enemy.

Havel, referring to the fact that listeners in certain parts of Slovakia cannot hear the "Conversations at Lany" program, says that being a life-long optimist, he firmly believes it is because of technical reasons and that it is not an attempt to prevent the Slovaks from listening to him.

Zantovsky Gives Briefing on Havel's Europe Talks

LD2503152891 Prague CTK in English 1500 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 25 (CTK)—The countries of NATO and the North Atlantic Assembly do not intend to forget about the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, said presidential spokesperson Michael Zantovsky at his regular weekly briefing today.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received a warm welcome at his speech in NATO headquarters in Brussels last Thursday [21 March] and was assured by his guests that East Central Europe [as received] will not be forgotten, Zantovsky said.

During his meeting with French President Francois Mitterrand in Paris two days ago, Havel discussed the conference on a confederation of European states, scheduled to take place in Prague on June 12-14. According to Zantovsky, the conference will be run mainly as a discussion among prominent intellectuals and experts on the possible forms of such a confederation.

One possible framework for the conference could be the board of directors of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), with participants representing the European countries as well as the USA, Canada and Japan. President Mitterrand agreed to this, Zantovsky said.

Asked whether president Havel spoke only with Mitterrand about the involvement of Japan in European affairs, the president's spokesperson replied that while Havel talked about the concept of a European confederation in his meetings with representatives of the Benelux countries, the participation of Japan was not directly discussed.

On domestic affairs Zantovsky noted that the president presented his proposal for a new federal constitution to the Constitutional Commission of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (parliament) today. A CTK reporter asked Zantovsky to comment on the possibility that Public Against Violence (VPN) may be leaning towards

the Christian Democratic Movement's (KDH) idea that prior to the approval of a federal constitution the Czech and Slovak Republics ought to conclude a pact as an expression of their equal standing in the federation. Zantovsky responded that President Havel and his staff were only informed about this alleged change in position through the mass media.

This subject was raised in a newspaper interview on March 22 with the chairperson of the Slovak parliament, Frantisek Miklosko. New constitutions for the federation and both the Czech and Slovak Republics are supposed to be approved before the next parliamentary elections in 1992.

Zantovsky also noted that President Havel did not pronounce himself in favour of the breakup of Yugoslavia, as some people interpreted his statements last week. Havel's words were as follows: "Yugoslavia is living through what may be its most difficult moment since the end of the Second World War. It is apparently in the interest of all European countries that this process of a disintegration of sorts take place without civil wars. I believe that, at this time, no problem on European soil ought to be solved with the assistance of arms".

Zantovsky Denies Matica Slovenska Allegations

LD2503185191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Michael Zantovsky, spokesman for the president of the Republic, emphasized at today's briefing in Prague Castle that in no case does President Vaclav Havel wish to interfere in Federal Assembly work by voicing his views now on its Friday session. Regarding the Matica Slovenska reaction demanding that criminal proceedings be initiated against him for the pronouncements he made at the last briefing, Michael Zantovsky said among other things that he did not in any way offend the Slovak nation, the Slovak Government, or Matica Slovenska, and that he did not speak about fascism at all. This ensues from the verbatim report and audio recording of the last briefing. Michal Zantovsky also noted that a number of political representatives, including the president of the Republic and the chairman of the Slovak National Council, spoke about the concept of national socialism before and after him. This concept falls into the category of political science, and has nothing in common with fascism. Should some politicians slip into the place of this conception, the conception of national socialism, they are doing so for reasons known only to themselves, he stressed. At the same time he pointed out that his respect for the Slovak nation is too great to insult it. In the last briefing he spoke about specific trends, about specific groups and people.

Speaking about investigations into the staff of the Office of the President of the Republic, Michael Zantovsky said that no positive results were found within its management. The solution to positive findings in the fast of several other employees is their departure.

General Updates Soviet Withdrawal Status

LD2503223791 Prague CTK in English 1731 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 25 (CTK)—More than 64,000 of a total of 73,500 Soviet troops had been withdrawn from Czechoslovakia by early today, Major-General Svetozar Nadovic, the chief of the Federal Defence Ministry Administration for the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops from Czechoslovakia, said today.

He told a press conference at Kvetna, East Bohemia, that more than 34,000 Soviet civilians, i.e. 87.6 per cent, had left. The last Soviet tank will leave the Czechoslovak territory on March 27 and the rest of armoured vehicles will be withdrawn on April 2, 1991, Nadovic said.

He stated that property and financial issues linked with the 22-year stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia are to be settled now.

Members of the parliamentary commission in charge of the Soviet withdrawal today inspected the biggest ammunition depot of the Soviet troops central group with the capacity of 120,000 tonnes near Kvetna which is already empty.

Commander of the Soviet troops Central Group deployed in Czechoslovakia General Eduard Vorobyev said that all ammunition, including nuclear, has been removed not only from Kvetna but from other places in Czechoslovakia as well. He confirmed that chemical weapons have never been stored on the Czechoslovak territory. The last transport of material from Kvetna will take place on April 8, 1991.

USSR State Security Committee Ends Work

LD2503224591 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Martin Fendrych, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of the Interior, told CTK today that the cooperation agreement between the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior and the USSR State Security Committee has been canceled. Its staff has already left the territory of Czechoslovakia with the exception of Logunov, who is presently at the Soviet Embassy and is to fulfill tasks connected with ending the committee's activity.

Trade Agreement Signed With Russian Federation

LD2503224891 Prague CTK in English 2014 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Moscow March 25 (CTK correspondent)—By signing an intergovernmental agreement on trade and economic relations and scientific-technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Russian Federation, Czechoslovakia became the first foreign country to conclude such a document with the Russian federation.

The agreement was signed here today by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Vaclav Vales and Russian Deputy Premier

Inga Grebysheva. They also signed a protocol on supplies of goods and providing services between the Czechoslovak and Russian governments in the current year.

Ruml Addresses Assembly on 17 Nov 89 Events

LD2303000191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0911 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Report by Jiri Ruml, chairman of the legislative commission investigating the events of 17 November 1989, at a Federal Assembly session in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen deputies, dear guests: I am glad I can address the public, too. Essentially, our report has two parts—the first one that I will acquaint you with is clarification of the events of 17 November; the second one will be delivered by Dr. Petr Toman.

Sixteen months have passed since 17 November 1989. If today I am to answer the question of what preceded this event, how it was carried out, and what followed, I am finding that we have accumulated a lot of knowledge. But essentially we can answer only the second and the third questions. [passage omitted]

I will now give a chronological account of how things developed. During the last hearing of former First Deputy Interior Minister [Alojz] Lorenc, who is at the moment in custody, I found out that everything started in January 1987 when Charter 77 published on the occasion of its 10th anniversary an address to its fellow citizens. What did this document contain? An appeal that people become aware of their citizenship, that at last they might get rid of their fear. Lorenc added that he considered it an entry of the Charter into politics, to an open political scene, and at that time it was necessary to mobilize agency feelers of the entire society, that is, also within the Charter, which is witnessed by cover names such as Tomas, Anna, Ada, and others. It was to try, with their help, to decompose the forces inside the opposition. At that time, project "Klin" [Wedge] was worked out in great detail, and it lasted in the StB [State Security] until the end of November 1989, and, posthumously, virtually until today.

The philosophy of "Klin" is fairly simple—I quote: to activate to maximum extent agency work, particularly by using influence for the purposes of intensive organization of agency penetration into right-wing—that is, opposition—formations with the aim to reveal prepared actions for the purpose of achieving a power reversal, to direct active measures of misinformation to the opponent, to compromise the most confrontationally attuned representatives of these structures before the public, and for strengthening ideological, personal, and action contradictions between these groupings. It is a terrible language, but after so many years of RUDE PRAVO education, I need not translate.

There was no need to activate the agency network inside the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party]. It was not even allowed to set it up there, inasmuch as every nomenklatura member of the CPCZ was de facto an agent on account of his party duty, and according to the testimony of Rudolf Hegenbart—former head of the Department of State Administration, called the 13th department in the communist jargon—about 70 percent of its employees were [from the] Interior Ministry and were paid by the Interior Ministry. But even the majority of other departments of the apparatus had this employee status, so that the leading role in society was fully in the hands of the repressive power center. That is why if today we are to expose the agents inside top state bodies, we must note with sorrow that they are everywhere, such people—as representatives of this party—are still sitting, including this Assembly.

What was the year 1989 like? A solemn assembly marking the 20th anniversary of the death of Jan Palach was being prepared. Most probably this was discussed in the organs of the CPCZ, but everything was left with [state] security, which they merely reinforced by their own armed unit—the People's Militia. The state security had its own way of acting: As of October it held in custody some activists of independent civic initiatives and was preparing their trial; it merely visited others, giving them warnings; it detained still others as early as 15 January, but let them go again late in the evening—perhaps to calm them down so they might think state security was not planning anything.

Both Vaclav Havel and Dana Nemcova, who at that time was the spokeswoman for Charter 77, got anonymous warnings that another student wanted to burn himself. It could have been a truthful warning, one should not overlook anything. But in view of a later similar report on the death of some of the participants in the demonstration—even perhaps a secret police member— during the anniversary of August, which was to discourage participation and to undermine the joint front of civic activities, particularly after establishing facts about the alleged dead body on Narodni street in November—it seems to be clearer and clearer where and by whom such alarming rumors had been manufactured, without knowing beforehand the memoirs of spies Frolik and Bitman. Nothing, however, was left to chance, and they captured Vaclav Havel on Wenceslas Square on 16 January. Later on, Messrs. Jakes, Adamec, and Fojtik claimed before our commission that they knew nothing about it and that they had nothing to do with it—that it caused damage, rather than brought gain. The fact remains that Vaclav Havel was kept many hours at the district office of public security, where they rudely offended him before they detained him, and then drove him to court for the third time. The detention may have been a private initiative of someone lower in the hierarchy than the first secretary of the CPCZ, perhaps even the private zeal of Major Zak, who in similar circumstances detained Alexander Dubcek near the Congress Palace in November.

The accusation of Havel and the following court case against him was however a deliberate action of the

center, though one which failed to take into account possible consequences. Nevertheless, which center? Probably the one that was later in charge of the beating carried out in the center of Prague by a commando to show to everybody opposing army-barracks communism what would happen to him. [passage omitted]

Among our neighbors in the former GDR, a mass movement began in the wake of the much earlier social improvement in the direction of democracy in Hungary and Poland. Our territory was crossed by thousands of malcontents and desperados who voted against socialism with their feet. After a time it was only in our country and in Romania that soulless despotism held sway, and something had to be done about it.

It is not entirely clear what was discussed in September in Moscow by [First Deputy Interior Minister] Lorenc, but what is certain is that he consulted with head of the KGB Kryuchkov himself and his deputy Grushko, who were to reciprocate his visit at precisely the most critical time. At that time Hegenbart was slightly ill, but it was said that he had fallen into Jakes' disfavor because of IZVESTIYA, and his comrades from the secretariat say, on the other hand, that he had a tendency to go sick whenever the going got tough.

Thus, those who had frequent contacts with Soviet advisers either here or even with the ones around Gorbachev say that Moscow was very interested for something to happen here, too, but, as they said, be careful, comrades, that things do not slip out of our grasp. Meanwhile, our revivalists at home were waiting for our Soviet friends to reassess their view on the entry of troops in the hope that in this way they would, in fact, liberate us for the third time.

In the week prior to 17 November, the reciprocal visiting group, headed by Grushko, arrived in Prague, and because something was due to be signed, the delegation included the heads of all the important directorates or departments of the omnipotent KGB, which was the transient mentor, counsellor, and, it could be said, the direct mastermind behind our state security. They were welcomed by Lorenc, but he reportedly did not spend much time with them because he had a plateful of other worries that week; so he invited them to the now-legendary supper at the StB villa in Brevnov precisely on Friday, 17 November.

The students' demonstration to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of Jan Opletal was organized from the beginning by the unofficial students' movement, but since the official Union of Youth also gave its backing to that tragic anniversary, after some considerable dithering in the top posts, the demonstration was authorized. The aim was solely to prevent it from being abused with hostile activities directed by ideological subversion agencies—the term used in the regime's tirades. To be on the safe side, Mohorita's go-between, Danhel, and also possibly someone else from counterintelligence circles visited Vaclav Benda in the presence of Rudolf Battek to find out whether dissidents were preparing anything. He was assured that the organization and arrangements were fully in the hands of the students. That was 16 November when, suddenly and rather unexpectedly, Jan Fojtik flew off to Moscow where according to his own testimony he consulted with Medvedev, but evidently not having agreed anything worthwhile he returned to Prague precisely at the moment when the drama on Narodni Trida was culminating.

It appears that more information was evidently discovered in Moscow by Dr. Blahoz, the head of the Institute of State and Law of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science, who was informed on the morning of the 17th by Gorbachev's close aide Academician Shakhnazarov that in the next few days there would probably be some sort of substantial public protest, and that it would be unwise, not to say unfortunate, if any sort of drastic action was taken against them. He therefore gave him a direct telephone number on which he could be promptly notified, which Dr. Blahoz did several times over the next few days. The thing is, the Bush-Gorbachev meeting in Malta was drawing close.

Let me try to map out who was doing what and where on the 17th. Interior Minister Kincl reported to Jakes, transferred his command to Lorenc, and went home to Ostrava. Jakes handed the political sceptre to the appropriate local man Stepan, celebrated the 20th birthday of his granddaughter at home with his whole family, and then left for Orlik. Hegenbart had already been told several days earlier to go fishing with Soviet Ambassador Lomakin somewhere in Moravia and Slovakia. Was this meant as an alibi? I do not know. Adamec had the flu, and Husak was puttering around the Castle on his own. [laughter] Fojtik, back from Moscow, also left for Orlik.

I will not analyze in any detail the procession at Albertov, Vysehrad, and subsequently along the embankment into Narodni Trida because it is documented adequately elsehwere; for example, in the report of the previous commission supervising the investigation. Perhaps it is just worth noting the detention of Alexander Dubcek, whose movements were known to the StB from their telephone taps.

Directly opposite, across two lanes of the motorway at the end of the Nusle bridge near the Forum Hotel, was the command center for the event, which was being monitored on television by Soviet General Teslenko. The telephones at the Brevnov villa never stopped buzzing: Lorenc and his deputy Vykypel were not even able to finish their meals properly because they were continually answering the phone or making phone calls of their own. On the other end of the phone were (?Bytcanek), Stepan, Adamec, and who knows who else. If these phone calls were tapped, unfortunately there is no record of them.

At about half past eight they began to take their leave; they drank a toast to friendship and left. Lorenc and Vykypel went off to the National Theater, but as it

seemed to them that the main unrest had passed, they went to find Stepan. All the signs are that it was he who was on permanent duty that evening as the sole political representative on the ground, but whether it was he who decided on the attack has not been proven.

The next day on the way to the airport with his Soviet guests, Vykypel found out from his duty officer that there had, indeed, been a violent intervention and Lorenc, before the departure, gave the impression of being a stooge because he did not know anything. Adamec gave the same impression later when students of the journalism faculty went to see him at his apartment. As for Stepan, he went off to Louny to see his mother. Jakes and Fojtik scratched their chins at Orlik wondering whom to phone, and in the end they decided to phone Prokopec, the minister of health. The reports of the injuries were contradictory—first 15, then 35—and that is how it remained practically until Sunday evening when the CPCZ Presidium met at 1800 hours, but it merely discussed if the report on the death of student Smid was true. That is why the first public reaction whose basis was provided by Stepan and was delivered on television by Pitra was pacifying and grossly distorted the events. From that moment the CPCZ's supreme body lost any sort of ability to act—if, indeed, it ever had any—and it remains an enigma who at that time was running the state.

Equally not entirely clear is the purpose of the news about Martin Smid; neither do we know all the details of the role of Ruzicka-Zifcak—that is something the military prosecutor is working on. One thing, however, is clear: The news of the alleged death on Narodni Trida was what perhaps mobilized most of the already angry public, and therefore two variants come to mind—this was intended either by the oppositon or by those who wanted to get rid of Jakes. The second variant is supported by the fact that there had been a plan for some time to replace the Number One, and at the same time it could discredit the opposition for spreading deliberately untruthful reports. That is why this role was entrusted to an StB man dressed as a student. However, I do not understand why, in the end, Zifcak himself blew his own cover. There is something fishy here, and for the time being we do not know what it is.

The anger of the students, who were joined by actors and then other civic initiatives too, culminated in a specific act: Civic Forum came into being, headed by Vaclav Havel, who was not in Prague on the 17th so no one could suspect him of organizing anything on behalf of the students. The meeting in the Cinoherni Club was truly disorganized, but agents under various codenames were there too, as were their controlling bodies which, however, did not have a direct influence on the creation of the common platform. They merely watched to be able to report back; so to speak of any pre-agreed tactic between the dissidents and the authorities is sheer fabrication and part of the subsequent campaign of disinformation.

Nevertheless, the first meeting of Adamec on Tuesday the 21st with the representatives of a sort of pluralist group—in which this time the Civic Forum was also represented and to which the initiative called "Most" ["Bridge"] gave a stimulus—was during the entire time of striving for dialogue in the hands of an agent codenamed Kalab who is now writing his memoirs. The initiators of "Most" probably did not know it, but this must have been known to the other side, and it is surprising that this agent was for some time afterwards in the Office of the Presidium of the Government, although Adamec was no longer there.

Yet I dare to claim in harmony with the facts that the key fact was not the talks behind closed doors or the intrigues of the secret police, but the people in the streets—many people on the squares, and not only in Prague. This was not in any script; we do not see it as a script that people were getting rid of fear until they fully woke up to their citizenship.

If the other side had any script, the one which had a leading role guaranteed by a constitution, it never expected this, and therefore it ended as it did.

Also, the reformists who only wanted to improve what could not be improved were not successful; and the secret police members miscalculated who thought that the reformists would simply take them over because they would not be able to exist without their all-embracing activity. All this is clear only now, looking back.

It was not the bloody 17 November which was of key importance; it was only a detonator. [passage omitted]

The abcess burst, but not all the pus had come out yet. On 29 December, on the day when the former Federal Assembly stripped the Communist Party under pressure from the general public of its leading role by abolishing the relevant article of the Constitution, a Commission for Surveillance of the Events of 17 November was set up, but secret police collaborators were already infiltrated in it. On the same day and the day afterwards, instructions were sent personally to all regions about the principles of the activity of counterintelligence. [passage omitted]

To be able to get the maximum amount of agents in the media and institutes of higher learning to influence the situation in these structures would be to the benefit of the CPCZ.

At the same time, new organizations, movements, and parties were founded or they revived their former activity, and in the Register of Volumes we find everywhere names of secret police collaborators. For example, in the Democratic Forum of Communists we find a code name of Arnost [names indistinct] in Matica Slovenska on the very top an agent codenamed Ekonon [Economist], in the Moravian Association Slavek or Kantor. Is it an accident what we are witnessing now? We cannot excuse even those people who have been convinced until now that they did it in good faith, that they will speed up

the process of changes. They forgot that only what is improvable can be improved, and no communist regime is capable of it. [applause]

The way to hell can be paved with some good intentions. If they complain today that the revolution was stolen from them, it must be said that unfortunately it never belonged to them. Nobody will steal the revolution from the rest of us as long as we do not pilfer it ourselves.

Deputies Reply to Secret Service Work Accusation

AU2503163191 Prague CTK in English 1956 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Czechoslovak parliament today adjourned until Tuesday March 26 the controversial discussion on the publication of the names of the ten alleged collaborators of the former secret police (StB) who did not use the chance of giving up their seats without being publicly exposed. Another five deputies resigned earlier.

The ten names revealed by spokesman for the screening commission Petr Toman included also the names of two deputies who had turned to the court in the 7th Prague district which conveyed to the commission members its ruling mentioning "the protection of personality" which should have prevented publication of their names until the lawsuit is over. One of the deputies voiced the view that "the criminal offense of marring the execution of a court ruling was committed in parliament".

Some of the deputies said they will present their cases to European institutions. The president of the Prague 7 court informed the session that she would seek an action from the International Court at the Hague.

The parliament heard an extensive defense by Jan Kavan (Civic Forum) who was allegedly an StB collaborator in the years 1968-1970. Kavan lived in Britain until 1989, largely assisting Czechoslovak dissidents. He maintained that being a representative of Czechoslovak students in Britain, he was meeting a Czechoslovak diplomat who was officially in charge of students, without knowing he was an espionage agent.

Deputy Petr Uhl (Civic Forum) accused the screening commission of not having presented all documents when they were discussing the matter with Kavan. One of them confirms, according to Uhl, that Kavan did not know that the alleged diplomat was a Czechoslovak espionage officer.

Lubomir Ledl (Communist Party) challenged the accusation of collaboration with StB by the alleged protocol on talks on his pledge to cooperate with the secret police which bears the date of a day on which he was outside Czechoslovakia.

Parliament First Deputy Chairman Zdenek Jicinsky said that the screenings are erroneous on many points from the legal point of view.

On the contrary, many deputies highly appreciated the work the commission did.

Deputy Chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) Daniel Kroupa said he would give up his mandate if all the ten suspects do the same out of their own will.

Richard Sacher, Czechoslovak interior minister from December 1989 to June 1990, described the discussion on the screenings as "a retreat from the positions of a law-observing state" and warned against the danger stemming from "the participation of agents of foreign services in the work of parliament and the government".

The names of former StB collaborators from among federal ministers and their deputies have been made available to Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek and Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa, Petr Toman said.

Assembly Passes Three Laws, Hears Interpellations

AU2503135791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Mar 91 pp 1,2

["ha"-signed report: "Higher Sick Pay; First Day of the 14th Joint Meeting of Federal Assembly Chambers"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the Federal Assembly approved bills on state technical norms, on changes in the health insurance, and on the Office of the President of the Republic. It also approved a number of international agreements.

For about two hours after the opening of the joint meeting, the plenum dealt with procedural issues. [passage omitted]

After the approval of the agenda, Deputy Igor Nemec (Civic Forum) addressed an interpellation to Prime Minister Marian Calfa concerning contradictions between the constitutional law placing the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, the Communist Party of Slovakia, the Party of the Democratic Left, and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia under the obligation to hand over to the state, by the end of March 1991, movable and immovable assets, financial resources, and property rights that were in the possession of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia until 31 December 1989 and the Federal Government's resolution concerning the procedure in taking over this property. I. Nemec said that the exceptions that are provided for in the Federal Government's resolution are so extensive that they constitute a breach of the constitutional law and threaten to deprive the state of hundreds of millions worth of assets. Prime Minister Calfa conceded that the interpellation was urgent and promised that an answer to it would be given still in the course of the 14th joint meeting.

Deputy Jiri Dienstbier Jr. (Civic Forum) commented on the recording of [Slovak Prime Minister] Mr. Meciar's news conference that Czechoslovak Television broadcast on Monday, 18 March. He set right the prime minister's claim that Martin Benda, the son of Deputy Vaclav

Benda (Christian and Democratic Union), has access to all material dealt with by the parliamentary commission investigating the 17 November [1989] events without having signed a vow of silence. This is a piece of misinformation, Jiri Dienstbier Jr. said, because Martin Benda did sign a vow of silence and would be criminally liable in the event of his breach of that vow. Moreover, he does not have access to any information concerning screenings. In view of these facts, J. Dienstbier asked Deputy V. Meciar (who, as always, was absent from the plenary meeting of the Federal Assembly) the following questions: 1) Did you misinform the public on purpose or are you only using unverified information? Neither possibility would be to your credit as a politician. 2) Did you intend to cast doubt on the results of the work of the commission investigating the events of 17 November and, by the same token, on the results of screenings? 3) Why are you so afraid of screenings?

The explanatory statement on the government-sponsored bill on state technical norms was presented by Vladimir Sulik, chairman of the Federal Office for Standardization and Measurements. He stressed that the submitted bill makes it possible to efficiently introduce European norms into the Czechoslovak system of norms, whereby it establishes prerequisites for the denationalization of the system of technical norms. [passage omitted] The validity of the currently valid and binding norms (there are more than 26,000 of them) will expire gradually, with December 1992 having been set as the final deadline. [passage omitted] The plenum approved the draft without a debate. The explanatory statement on the government-sponsored bill on changes in the health insurance system (the final wording of which we publish on page 2) was presented by Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social affairs. [passage omitted]

The next item on the agenda was the draft bill on the Office of the CSFR President. As Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky stated in the explanatory statement, its concept is based on the original law [on the presidential office] of 1919, and it defines the jurisdiction of the Office from the viewpoint of present needs with greater precision. Above all, it reintroduces the principle that the Office of the President employs citizens of both republics. It also authorizes the head of the Office of the President to attend government meetings. The deputies approved the draft. [passage omitted on parliament's failure to pass the bill on CTK, covered by first referent item]

The joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers continues today.

Federal Assembly Amends State Defense Council Law

AU2503154691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

["ha, jop,"-signed report: "Legal Guarantees for Business; Second Day of the 14th Joint Meeting of Federal Assembly Chambers"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] An item on the agenda of the second day of the 14th joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers [held in Prague on 20 March] was the amendment to the Constitutional Bill on the State Defense Council. In view of the new division of powers [between the federation and the republics], the amendment specifies the powers of the Czech Republic Defense Council and the Slovak Republic Defense Council vis-a-vis the CSFR Defense Council. It also establishes Defense Councils in Prague and Bratislava and makes it possible for defense councils to be established also at the district level. The amendment received the need three-fifths majority of votes required in both chambers and was thus approved. [passage omitted]

The joint meeting of Federal Assembly chambers will continue on Friday [22 March]. [passage omitted]

Economic Data for Feb Shows Continued Decline

AU2103133691 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 15 Mar 91 p 3

["(vl)"-signed report: "Is Production Running Out of Breath?"]

[Text] According to preliminary Federal Statistical Office data, industrial production in January and February reached 200.3 billion korunas (in current prices), which, when eliminating price effects, is 6.7 percent less than last year. Final results for January alone show that the overall drop in that month (6.5 percent) was felt more in the Slovak Republic economy (-10.2 percent) than in the Czech Republic (-4.9 percent).

Civil engineering is experiencing a significant decline, too. Compared to the same period of last year, in the first two months of this year civil engineering production declined 33.1 percent, after the elimination of price effects.

Compared to the same period last year, the number of workers employed in industry dropped in January and February by 7 percent and in civil engineering by 11.4 percent. However, monthly data on the situation in industry and civil engineering pertain only to enterprises with more than 100 employees.

The procurement of slaughter animals in February dropped by one quarter [25 percent], compared to February last year, and, in a similar way, the procurement of milk and eggs lagged behind last year's levels. This data does not include direct sales to consumers, which is impossible to quantify as yet.

The situation in production is also reflected in cargo transportation, primarily in railway transportation. It dropped by 24 percent, compared to last year, and similar data can be expected for road transportation, even if the relevant data is not available as yet.

The number of unplaced job seekers reached 152,300 by the end of February. Of this, 74,800 were in the Czech Republic and 77,500 in the Slovak Republic. Expressed

as a percentage of the total CSFR population able to work, this reprosents 1.9 percent (1.4 percent in the Czech Republic and 3.0 percent in the Slovak Republic).

Civic Movement Approves of Federal Assembly Purge

LD2203160991 Prague CTK in English 1458 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 22 (CTK)—Publicising the names of deputies who collaborated with the Czechoslovak secret police was a necessary purge, said Federal Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky today at a Civic Movement (OH) press conference.

The OH, formed from one wing of the Civic Forum movement, thinks that it was a mistake to wait this long to rid the Federal Assembly (parliament) of secret police collaborators, according to Rychetsky, a member of the OH preparatory committee.

As for the political problems in Slovakia, OH supports their resolution through constitutional and democratic means. Rychetsky said that while the Civic Movement respects people's right to demonstrate in the street, the pressure of extremist forces must not be allowed to substitute for the will of constitutionally-based legislative bodies such as the Slovak National Council (parliament).

Federal Inspection Minister Kvetoslava Korinkova spoke on the return of Communist Party property to its former owners, saying the process had been delayed as a result of insufficient legal preparations due to officials' preoccupation with the economic reform. She said she hoped that all communist property would be given back by the end of this month.

Slovakia's Meciar: Screening Is Dangerous

AU2503171191 Prague CTK in English 1321 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 23 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar has expressed fears that the public announcement of the names of Czechoslovak parliament deputies listed as former StB secret police collaborators may damage Czechoslovakia's international reputation.

"Screenings as a political tool are dangerous and have brought puzzlement instead of positive results", he told CTK after the parliamentary session at which the names of ten deputies were revealed before the TV cameras Friday.

Meciar said he has always held that screenings have to be ruled by law or else they have consequences at court. Today, Czechoslovak citizens can appeal for the protection of their rights not only to Czechoslovak but also European authorities and some of the people concerned will apparently do so. "This will give rise to an interesting situation in which a supreme legislative body will be in dispute with its own bodies at the court of the Council of Europe which will judge whether law has been breached or not. I'm afraid lest this should not harm (Czechoslovakia's) international prestige", he said.

According to Meciar screenings should not be conducted unless based on special legislation. At the moment the deputies who decide to remain in parliament despite being listed as StB collaborators cannot be forced to go and legislation that would force them to resign would be a punishment for acts committed before such legislation came into effect and it would not have much chance to pass in the Council of Europe.

"Cool heads" instead of haste, nervousness and tension which existed in parliament would have been much more helpful, Meciar said.

Meciar Sees 'Purges' in Wake of Dismissal

AU2603110891 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Fratisek Melis report on a news conference by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar held in Bratislava on 18 March: "Those Who Got Their Teeth Into Slovakia May Break Them on It"—first four paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Bratislava—In a public survey, SLOBODNY PIATOK's readers picked Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar as the most popular Slovak politician of last year. Josef Sitko, chief editor of the weekly, gave him a plaque for this victory in the editorial office yesterday.

Vladimir Meciar expressed his thanks for this recognition and succinctly summed up the situation in our country. He pointed to the fact that if Slovakia backs off now, then its fate will be determined for another 15 to 20 years. The issue is whether its national identity will be respected or suppressed. It is quite possible that after the prime minister's removal a chain of purges will be launched, the target of which will be not only former Communist Party members, but also those who are not loyal to those currently in power. Vladimir Meciar labeled the attacks against him as vague criticism and wretchedness of mind designed to shock the nation. He said further that he would not give up his position voluntarily because there are no arguments against his work as prime minister.

He then objected to statements depicting Slovakia as a place where fascism appears in conjunction with communism. This image of Slovakia as following a national socialist direction of development tarnishes our name abroad and obstructs the influx of investments. The prime minister sees the Office of the President of the Republic to be behind this misinformation.

At a subsequent news conference, Vladimir Meciar answered a number of questions. We have selected the most interesting passages from this meeting:

[Unidentified reporter] What do you think about the current dispute within the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement?

[Meciar] It is a conflict of opinions. Unfortunately, the other side is not willing to talk about it and only challenges individuals and personalizes every relationship. There are disagreements over how we envision Slovakia's position within the federation's framework and also about how economic reform should be implemented under Slovak conditions. That is, we are not challenging the reform, but we want to define its priorities. There are also differences in how we understand state social policy and in the attitude toward the creation of new job opportunities. We are also split over the concept of internal democracy in the civic movement. Its present center has assumed positions typical of party work because it assumes the right to influence the actions of individual bodies.

[Reporter] What is the cause for the attack against the so-called pink communists?

[Meciar] The issue is whether or not someone is obedient. When I protest, then I am reminded that I am a former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia member, and that I might carry out a leftist coup aided by the Ministry of Interior. Yet no one speaks about Miroslav Kusy having had in 1969 a much higher position than me; no one says that as recently as 1988 Jozef Kucerak was still writing fiery articles about Marxism, and that Sona Szomolanyiova was also engaged in party work—that means, should you become disobedient, then we will remind you that you are an expellee from [the party]. We were told to leave and to establish our own platform, but they are taking the money that we won for them, being ranked first on the list of candidates in the elections. However, they to not want to share the money.

[Reporter] That which is happening around you is reminiscent of the years when bourgeois nationalists were persecuted. Do you believe that political trials will take place?

[Meciar] It reminds me, too, of those years, but today people are no longer so defenseless. It is not only those dirty things that you can now see. For example, I have found out that the former Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, the present Federal Information Service, was shadowing me. They sent an observation unit—a service that deals with murderers, traffickers, drug dealers, and so on—to follow me .

[Reporter] Has the Office of the President denied your statement apropos Michael Zantovsky's words about communists and fascists uniting in Slovakia?

[Meciar] No, it has not. In Italy, one journalist drew my attention to the fact that his belief about Slovakia being a fascist state was based on information from the Castle. If someone asserts that we have fascism or national socialism here, then I feel terribly sorry for him, because his brain is damaged. The intention here is different, however. When someone speaks of us as of fascists, then who will invest here? This isolates us internationally. When I was asked in Italy about Alexander Dubcek's position, I said that sometimes, when he requests an audience, he is unable to get to the Castle, or that from time to time they forget to invite him to a dinner during an official visit, and that sometimes he has no one with whom to consult on important matters. Those who got their teeth into Slovakia may break them on it.

[Melis] Have you heard yet more gossip about Slovakia coming from the Castle?

[Meciar] I asked the president why his advisers are implementing a different policy from the president's. Why are they doing evil while he is doing good? I was told by Zantovsky at that time that they were doing only what the president said. Then I asked the president whether this was true, and he confirmed it. If our people were widely reading LIDOVE NOVINY, this would so shatter our Czech-Slovak coexistence that no one would be able to put it together again.

[Reporter] What do you think about the president's words that the situation in Slovakia will calm down within two weeks?

[Meciar] The president apparently knows something that I do not.

[Reporter] Do you feel like you are under one roof with the VPN after Saturday's [16 Mar] excommunication?

[Meciar] This is obvious nonsense. I am still a VPN Slovak Council member, because I have not been expelled. I have not even been deprived of my VPN deputy mandate. Do I, as prime minister nominated by the VPN, implement its program? I continue to hold the view that Slovakia's program is the five pillars fixed in the Chance for Slovakia platform, and, therefore, we cannot speak about two platforms. I stand on the VPN platform, but I am of a completely different opinion about making policy, about organizational arrangement, and about internal relations. The process of the VPN split has slowed down a little, but it continues.

[Reporter] Did you know that during your visit abroad the president of the Republic would come to Bratislava?

[Meciar] During my talks with the president before my trip, I did not receive any information about his coming to Slovakia. Each of his visits is planned at least one week beforehand. The original itinerary of the president's walk [through Bratislava on 14 March] was different. Having met with those who demonstrated for Czechoslovak coexistence, he decided to change his itinerary. I agree that the president has the right to walk anywhere he wants, yet, when I do something, I must be aware of the risk this entails.

SNR Passes Bill, Approves Meciar Inquiry

AU2203175491 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Antonia Vymazalova, Stefan Hrcko report: "With the Coming of Spring, Property Comes to Communities; A Stormy 12th Meeting of the Slovak National Council Debates the Political Crisis"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday's 12th meeting of the Slovak National Council [SNR] was convened to discuss the exceptionally important government-sponsored draft of the Slovak National Council Bill on the Property of Communities. The date of the meeting coincided, however, with the culmination of the political crisis in Slovakia, caused by the split in the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]. The unusually large number of journalists and the conduct of some of them indicated that they expected the meeting to "dissect" the present political situation. This happened, however, only after lunch, after the approval of the Slovak National Council Bill on the Property of Communities. [passage omitted]

The bill was introduced by Slovak Minister of Finance M. Kovac. He said that the bill has been the subject of many debates, which concerned, above all, the transfer of organizations' property to the ownership of communities, the bill's relationship with the bill on small privatization, the possibilities of restitution [of nationalized property formerly owned by communities], and the rules governing the administration of the property of communities. [passage omitted]

The Slovak National Council approved the Bill on the Property of Communities with 130 deputies voting for the bill and six abstaining. Nobody voted against the bill.

Immediately thereafter, on the proposal of Deputy J. Zselenak (Party of the Democratic Left), the meeting approved a Slovak National Council resolution recommending to the Federal Assembly that the Land Bill [to be discussed in the Federal Assembly later this month] provide for the restitution to communities of agricultural and forest land that they had owned on 25 February 1948. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, the meeting debated a report on the activity of the Slovak National Council Presidium between 8 March and 20 March 1991. Prime Minister V. Meciar, too, was present. These reports are a regular part of the agenda of legislative meetings and, to this day, they have never generated any long debates. This time, however, it was precisely this report that became the stormiest item on the agenda—more specifically, one of its parts containing the Tuesday [19 March] Resolution of the Slovak National Council on the Present Internal Political Situation [which initiated investigations into the activities of Slovak Prime Minister Meciar]. [passage omitted]

V. Meciar, too, reacted to the report on the activity of the Slovak National Council Presidium. [passage omitted] He asked why the dispute within the VPN has been carried into the legislature and why deputies are to be misused for a decision about Meciar's guilt or innocence. [passage omitted] He said that legislative investigations into his guilt should not be carried out by the same people who had already pronounced the verdict of guilty on VPN premises. Nevertheless, this is precisely what will happen on the basis of the Resolution of the Slovak National Council Presidium. He also said that Vladimir Cecetka, deputy for the VPN, had been running around the Ministry of Interior with the aim of "finding something against Meciar." It goes without saying that V. Cecetka promptly denied this. Immediately after his speech, the prime minister apologized for having to leave the meeting again for health reasons.

Deputy M. Secansky (VPN For a Democratic Slovakia platform), chairman of the Slovak National Council Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee, recommended what amounted to a virtual abolition of the Resolution of the Slovak National Council Presidium. [passage omitted] Slovak National Council Chairman F. Miklosko sharply protested against this demand and asked that the deputies confirm the Presidium's decision. The deputies finally approved the report of the Slovak National Council Presidium, including its part containing the resolution, with 76 deputies voting in favor, 52 against, and 10 abstaining. [passage omitted]

Miklosko Disagrees With Havel Referendum Proposal

AU2203152091 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Excerpts] Vienna—Yesterday Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko, Slovak National Council Deputy Chairman Milan Zemko, and [First] Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky held talks in Vienna about the possibilities of intensifying Austrian-Slovak relations. [passage omitted]

In an interview with APA [AUSTRIA PRESSE AGENTUR], Jan Carnogursky resolutely rejected efforts at the secession of Slovakia, saying that "such a step would lead to total international isolation" of the Republic. [passage omitted] Asked about the role played by the Slovak prime minister in the present tense situation, Jan Carnogursky replied that "Vladimir Meciar is a politician who says what people like to hear." The political future of the Slovak prime minister will depend on whether other political forces in Slovakia will "assume a reasonable position on this issue that will have support of the general public."

F. Miklosko voiced disagreement with holding a referendum about the future of Czechoslovakia as proposed by President Vaclav Havel. The question of "either a federation or an independent Slovakia" is poorly formulated, he said. We must find a way of defining the powers of Prague and the republics.

'Unexplained Questions' on Meciar's USSR Visit

LD2503163391 Prague CTK in English 1418 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 25 (CTK) - A leader of the Slovak Public Against Violence movement (VPN) said today that the present destabilization of the Slovak political scene jeopardizes the implementation of the basic tasks of the government program.

Peter Zajac, a member of the VPN ruling body, the Slovak Council, told journalists that as the political force

which won the June 1990 parliamentary elections in Slovakia, VPN is committed to completing the new constitutional set-up in Czechoslovakia and starting the economic reform in Slovakia in its two-year term.

Peter Zajac spoke about unexplained questions of Premier Vladimir Meciar's visit to the Soviet Union March 13-15. Zajac said these questions concerned alleged secret talks by the Slovak premier with Soviet generals about tanks to be sold to the Soviet Union and the results of his talks with Ukrainian Premier Vitold Fokin on guarantees of borders between Slovakia and the Ukraine.

This is one of the issues to be investigated by a Slovak parliamentary commission set up at the initiative of VPN after Meciar and his supporters broke away and formed their own platform For Democratic Slovakia in the movement earlier this month.

At the end of the visit on March 15, Meciar and Fokin signed a joint communique which says that they consider the border between Slovakia and the Ukraine inviolable at present and in future.

Reportage on Meciar's Visit to Moscow

WA2503003091

For reportage on Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's visit to Moscow, including talks with his Soviet and Russian counterparts Valentin Pavlov and Ivan Silayev, respectively, see the East Europe section of the 25 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

VPN Deputies Form Club in Federal Assembly

LD2303001491 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] A new Public Against Violence [VPN] deputies club was formed today in the Federal Assembly and has been joined by 32 deputies elected for that movement. The other VPN deputies declined an offer to join the club. Milan Sutovec, the club's deputy chairman, told a CTK correspondent that Alexander Dubcek and Milan Cic are still considering the possibility of joining, but will probably remain independent.

Milan Sutovec added that the remaining 14 to 17 VPN deputies are preparing to set up a club of their own inclined toward the Platform For a Democratic Slovakia.

Meciar Addresses VPN Platform Meeting

LD2303201391 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Martin, West Slovakia, March 23 (CTK)—Some 400 representatives from 36 districts attended today's working meeting of sympathizers of the Public Against Violence (VPN) Platform for Democratic Slovakia and heard a speech by their leader, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar.

"After our success in the elections to the legislative assemblies we were convinced that VPN will be able to promote successfully its objective with huge support of the public. However, the results of the local elections showed that we were not right", Meciar told the audience. VPN won last June's parliamentary elections, gaining 29.34 per cent of votes for the Slovak National Council, but dropped to second place with 20.4 per cent, against the Christian Democrats (KDH)'s 27.4 per cent in the local elections in November.

"We missed our chance to solve the basic issues of our movement, we ceased seeing the citizen and his problems as the meaning and aim of our work", said Meciar who broke away from VPN over policy differences in the new platform earlier this month. The session of his platform was attended by four ministers of the Slovak government today. Meciar said that Slovakia "is and will be a democratic country, will build its statehood and find its place in Czechoslovakia and a united Europe" and added that those describing its policy as "a policy of national socialism disgrace Slovakia". Meciar rejected shock therapy in the economy. He described reports about an alleged danger of a leftist coup in Slovakia as a nonsense and said that in this case "the dirty fingers also aimed at (Federal Assembly Chairman) Alexander Dubcek".

The wing which remains the original VPN has called for Meciar's dismissal as premier because he, it says, no longer represents the public movement. On its impulse Slovak parliament has since ordered an enquiry into government performance in various fields.

Carnogursky Views Public Against Violence Split

LD2403210991

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak at 1810 GMT on 24 March carries the scheduled 10-minute "The Slovak Prime Minister Speaks" program. The slot is taken, however, by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky who explains that the Slovak Government has decided that the regular Sunday television address will not be delivered exclusively by Prime Minister Meciar, but also by other members of the government.

Carnogursky describes the split in the Public Against Violence [PAV] and the formation of a Slovak National council [SNC] commission to assess Premier Meciar's work in his post as the most important events of the week. He points out that he does not intend to assess Meciar's performance in this address and goes on speak about the consequences of the split in the PAV.

"Political disputes within the PAV movement hardly emerged during Tuesday's government session, Carnogursky says. All the members of the government who were present approached individual points on the agenda of the deliberations in a matter-of-fact way, and we always succeeded in finding the view supported by the majority and which was subsequently adopted by the entire government.

"Nevertheless, at Wednesday's SNC session, the disputes between individual platforms within the PAV broke out very openly, and these disputes threaten the work of the government. The platforms within PAV must adjust their mutual points of agreement and agree on their participation or at least on their support of the government. They should do so in a civilized way. As citizens we are all following closely the actions of political parties and movements as well as of individual politicians. As citizens we are going to draw consequences from it at the next elections.

"In tackling the current political crisis in Slovakia I consider two principles to be important. First, the disputes between political platforms have to be tackled in a constitutional way—on the SNC platform. Second, the current government crisis is an internal Slovak matter that must be solved in Slovakia. I will oppose any intervention by federal or other bodies in tackling the current crisis."

Carnogursky goes on to comment on the Bratislava meeting of trade unionists from the metallurgy industry whose delegation met with Minister Belcak, and praises the constructive spirit of their talks about the powers of the government and of enterprises.

Carnogursky comments on the government's decision to increase consumer prices of fuel and electricity from 1 May as something what will hit hard but is necessary: "The increase in prices is inevitable because Slovakia is not self-sufficient in energy production. We have to buy fuel and energy, and it is sold to us for high prices because there is not enough energy anywhere in the world. Compensation for the increase in these prices given to pensioners and families with children will amount to about one quarter of the entire increase."

He goes on to mention the adoption of power-sharing law for the mass media by the Federal Assembly. This law will enable the adoption of Slovak laws on Slovak television and radio.

Carnogursky recalls that a few days ago an experts' commission of the Czech and Slovak Governments returned from the Ukraine where several dozen families of Slovak origin living in the area of the Chernobyl accident showed an interest in returning to Slovakia and therefore preparations will be made to welcome them.

'New Guard' Movement Threatens Assassinations

AU2503192291

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 22 March on page 1 carries a 300-word interview with Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement, by an unidentified SMENA correspondent entitled "Threats of Sanctions and Assassination." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Gal confirms that he has received assassination threats. Bratislava PRAVIDA in Slovak on 22 March on page 2 carries a 250-word CTK report entitled "Who Stands Behind the New Guard?" The report deals with a "threatening letter" received by the Presov branch of the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Slovakia. Both items refer to the "New Guard" movement [hnutie Nova Garda] as the source of intimidation.

In the SMENA interview, Gal confirms what he reportedly stated on the "Aktuality" program on Slovak Television on 20 March—namely, that the New Guard movement "threatens the use of severe sanctions against him [Gal] in the name of protecting Prime Minister Meciar" and that "the National Front for the Liberation of the CSFR threatens him with assassination." Gal says that "for the time being" he does not intend to file charges against either of the two groups. He believes, however, that "the Slovak Ministry of Interior should clarify what sort of organizations these are."

The CTK report in Bratislava PRAVIDA states that the Presov branch of the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Slovakia has received a letter from the "New Guard movement," which was adopted at a "session of the Executive Committee of the New Guard movement in Malacky on 4 March 1991." The letter, which does not specify who the New Guard is, states, among other things, that members of the Confederation of Political Prisoners are "kulaks, priests, perpetrators of sabotage, etc. who were rightly sentenced in the fifties as enemies of our system." It warns members of the Confederation "not to influence political life and not to offend members of the Communist Party of Slovakia and members of other parties and functionaries in the region." In the event of their failure to heed this warning, the letter says, "our movement will be forced to proceed to acts of repression against members of the Confederation."

According to the CTK report, the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Slovakia made a copy of the letter available to the Slovak Ministry of Interior.

Slovak National Party Holds Second Congress

LD2303201991 Prague CTK in English 1723 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Nove Zamky, West Slovakia, March 23 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party, which declares an independent Slovak Republic to be its basic aim, believes that it has overcome crises and its popularity is increasing.

The party, which was officially registered in March 1990, held its second congress here today. According to a report presented to the congress, after a year of activity and overcoming minor and major crises, it is gaining "good credit and growing popularity". One of the reasons are the internal problems in the VPN [Public Against Violence] movement and in the political parties in Slovakia. The party gained 13.9 per cent of votes for the Slovak Parliament in the June 1990 elections, the third largest score, but its militancy and the dismissal of its Chairman Vitazoslav Moric from the Presidium of

the Federal Assembly over his challenging of the legitimate Slovak Parliament in the autumn brought the number of votes in its support down to 3.2 per cent in the local elections in november. Today's report said that the party adheres to the positions of radicalism, will not back down on its basic aim of an independent Slovak republic but wants to achieve it by parliamentary and democratic methods.

The meeting was opened by Stefan Kvietik, Slovak National Council deputy for the party, who is a well-known actor. He read messages of greetings which included those from the World Slovak Congress and other organizations of Slovaks abroad.

Slovak National Party Officials Interviewed

LD2503225591

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1100 GMT on 25 March carries a three and a half minute interview with Vitazoslav Moric, former Slovak National Party chairman, and Jozef Prokes, present Slovak National Party chairman, by Bratislava Radio editor Peter Rohac. The date and place of the interview are not given.

Moric, responding to a question on how he personally evaluates the results of the party's assembly, says:

"We naturally did not expect a split in our party. After all, we are not VPN [Public Against Violence], are we? I think that we are quite ordinary Slovaks, and we will stick together. The fact that there was a change in the party's leadership constitutes, in my view, a rejuvenation of our strength. It can only be beneficial for this party. If the new chairman continues with the plans we set for ourselves in the beginning—this means that our objective is an independent Slovak Republic of the same type as Denmark or Switzerland, in case there are doubts, an independent and not just a sovereign republic— then we will back him, I think," says Moric. He adds that he does not consider the election results as his defeat and suggested that in a normal democracy politicians can even make a comeback.

Rohac asks Prokes: "By what means would the Slovak National Party like to attain the objectives which were already mentioned here?"

Prokes answers: "First and foremost by parliamentary means." Elections, he says, could take place sooner than planned and "this is why our uppermost effort today will be to show people what they are likely to gain if Slovakia becomes independent or sovereign. This is an issue of not only the will of the people themselves but also of existing geopolitical relations. Although an independent Slovak Republic is our objective and dream, and I repeat and say this really loudly, not at any cost, because there is no sense in pushing through something that will be killed immediately. Our actions rather will center on learning from our nations. We will take measured steps accompanied by consistent pressure." Moric says that these actions will be implemented in a legal and democratic manner. No party has the right to substitute itself for the will of the people, for the people themselves must decide whether or not they want to form a Slovak Republic. Moric adds that demonstrations and rallies are part of this democratic manner.

Prokes points out: "The issue of meetings is always the issue of being aware of the appurtenance of a certain group of people. We will observe very closely the meetings that we organize so they never go beyond their present framework and so violence never takes place in them. We must extinguish violence beforehand. I must say frankly that I do not believe that this violence should take place within the Slovak nation, because it is not inherent in our history," concludes Prokes.

Toth Interviewed on Coalition Negotiations

AU2103133591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Mar 91 p 1

[Interview with Karoly Toth, general secretary of the Independent Hungarian Initiative, by Evelyn Forro in Prague; date not given: "Meciar Is the Leader of an Illegitimate Group"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Commenting on the recent events in Slovakia, the independent Czech daily LIDOVE NOVINY wrote on its front page that the coalition was not united. This brief statement just about sums up the outcome of the coalition negotiations held during the evening of Monday, 18 March. We asked Karoly Toth about these negotiations, which lasted for more than two hours.

[Toth] It has become clear that if the leadership of the Slovak National Council deals with the [Meciar] issue, then the Democratic Party will vote with Prime Minister Meciar, and the Independent Hungarian Initiative [MNI] will support the concept presented by Public Against Violence [VPN], namely that the prime minister should be removed. Under the leadership of Jan Carnogursky, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] will abstain; the KDH's opinion is that a legislative committee should examine the veracity of the facts that have been brought up in connection with Meciar. The leadership of the Slovak National Council will probably not organize a vote of confidence after that.

[Forro] How long could the government crisis last after this?

[Toth] That depends entirely on the work of the committees; most of all, it depends on when the legislative national security committee actually comes to a conclusion, and what the results of this conclusion are—indeed, it is the national security committee that is looking into the activities of the Slovak Interior Ministry since the revolution in November 1989.

[Forro] Is there no danger of the government not working, not accomplishing its tasks under such circumstances?

[Toth] Many people believe that the government has not worked yet, either. My opinion is that the Cabinet does not have any burning issues to deal with at the moment, so neglecting these issues would not lead to any great disadvantage.

[Forro] Do you think that Meciar's followers might try to influence the outcome of the meeting to be held by the Slovak National Council's leadership?

[Toth] I can imagine the followers demonstrating in favor of Meciar. In fact, the propaganda campaign has already started: On the late television news on Monday night, a series of workers, farmers, and intellectuals spoke up in favor of Meciar.

[Forro] Are you afraid that if Prime Minister Meciar remains in office, he will remember that the MNI was against him?

[Toth] You would have to ask him that question; we have not yet formulated our viewpoint for such an eventuality. Nevertheless, I have to point out that this crisis cannot merely be narrowed down to the figure of Meciar. There is a lot more at stake here, we have to examine why things developed the way they did these last three weeks in Slovakia.

[Forro] It is interesting to note that in its report on the coalition negotiations, the CTK press agency spoke not of four, but of five participants in the government; it made a special mention of the Platform for a Democratic Slovakia.

[Toth] That is very strange, because this platform does exist, but it is not officially registered, and it is not part of the government coalition because it never signed the coalition agreement as a group "For a Democratic Slovakia." Prime Minister Meciar is the leader of an illegitimate group, and that is precisely what makes the situation strange.

Metal Workers Demonstrate in Bratislava

!!2103173991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Anna Capkova report: "We Do Not Want To Go Begging, We Want To Work!"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— Yesterday's all-Slovak rally, convened by the Slovak Chamber of the Trade Union of Metal Workers under the slogan "The Eleventh Hour," ran a surprisingly calm course, despite the fact that the present situation in many electrical engineering, machine-building, and metallurgical enterprises in Slovakia is reminiscent of a time bomb.

The trade unionists, along with other workers who addressed the almost 3,000 demonstrators who had assembled before the House of the Trade Unions in Bratislava, spoke a clear language. The economic situation, the causes of which lie in the poorly thought out restrictive financial, credit, and monetary policy, poses a serious threat to, above all, electrical engineering enterprises and to enterprises affected by conversion [from military to civilian production]. The speakers drew attention to the alarming growth in the number of insolvent enterprises, to the loss of markets in countries with nonconvertible currencies (in this connection they gave clear support for an orientation of our foreign policy that would expand the possibilities to market our products abroad, rather than narrow them down), and to the growing social uncertainty among people....[passage omitted]

Jeszenszky Hails Political Changes

LD2303203491 Budapest MTI in English 1647 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Santa Barbara, March 23 (MTI)—Without the changes in the Soviet Union and Central-East Europe, the Gulf crisis could not have been resolved in such a short time and with relatively small sacrifices, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in his lecture held in Santa Barbara on Friday. Jeszenszky read his lecture for several hundred members of the Intellectuals Club in Santa Barbara. The Hungarian foreign minister is to open the Hungarian Weeks in Santa Barbara on Saturday. The intolerance towards minorities, including Jews, poses a danger for all nations in Central-East Europe, Jeszenszky said. Nevertheless, a co-operation based on historic traditions can be revived between countries and nations in the region, he added. Hungary maintains close friendly ties with Austria and it is striving to build similar relations with Yugoslavia, accepting the decision of that country's nations on their own future, whatever it may be, Jeszenszky stressed.

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On the occasion of the Hungarian Weeks in California, honorary diplomas were presented to Geza Jeszenszky, Yehudi Menuhin, who is to conduct the opening concert of the event and Tibor Frank, a Hungarian guest professor at the local university, who is the chief organizer of the Hungarian Weeks.

Calls for Western Investments

LD2403214491 Budapest MTI in English 1813 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Santa Barbara, March 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian weeks, opened in Santa Barbara on Saturday, have invited a great interest and affection towards Hungary, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has told MTI's correspondent.

Jeszenszky expressed his understanding towards the statement of Polish President Lech Walesa in the United States according to which Poland is the best place for Western investments.

"In the course of the Visegrad summit, we agreed not to take this kind of rivalry seriously. Wherever in the region the West wants to make investments, it will be advantegous for all of our countries," Jeszenszky said.

Speaking about the reduction of Poland's debts, Jeszenszky stated that Poland had been insolvent for more than a decade, so the write-off was only that of irrevocable debts, anyway. It was, however, impossible and not at all desirable for Hungary to follow the Polish example. A decisive advantage of Hungary from investors' point of view was just the fact that Hungary has been paying its debts properly.

Unlike Poland's debts, the majority of loans to Hungary have been granted by commercial banks, mainly those of Japan, which fiercely oppose to the reduction of Polish debts, Jeszenszky said.

At the same time, he added, Hungary would welcome if the United States considered increasing its support to Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The success of reforms in the three Central-East European countries obviously lies in the interest of the United States as well. It is not indifferent to the us, what time it takes to complete the political and economic restructuring in these countries, that are to determine the future of the region.

The festival entitled "Hungarian Spring 91" was opened by Geza Jeszenszky amid great interest in Santa Barbara on Saturday. The festival, to last several weeks, is to give a survey of Hungarian history and culture.

On Sunday, Jeszenszky is to travel to South Korea for an official visit. He said he would hold talks on bilateral ties in Seoul and would also prepare other high-level visits. The two sides are expected to sign an agreement on eliminating visa requirements between the two countries.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Current Issues

LD2503225291 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 25 mar 91

[Interview with Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman by unidentified reporter in Budapest on 25 March—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Representatives of the press heard a lot of interesting information at the Foreign Ministry's usual Monday press briefing. [passage omitted] We asked spokesman Janos Herman to inform the viewers from the studio here about some especially interesting topics.

[Herman] Imre Szokai, deputy state secretary, was received by the Albanian foreign minister and by the foreign trade minister. At these discussions and at the talks with his counterpart, overall Albanian-Hungarian relations were reviewed. It appears that there are good prospects for us to advance in these relations, for us to bring our positions close to one another, for example, on the minority issue.

[Reporter] Another topic: State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi is preparing to go to Moscow. If I am correct he will be there from 3 to 5 April. What topics will he discuss?

[Herman] the visit to Moscow by Ferenc Somogyi is linked to the framework of consultations between the two foreign ministries. Therefore, primarily international issues will be discussed. Naturally, there might be discussion on topical issues concerning bilateral relations.

[Reporter] And the basis agreement, which is under preparation?

[Herman] Yes, we are preparing this basic agreement at the level of deputy state secretary and deputy foreign minister. There have already been several rounds of negotiations. At the moment we await Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kvitsinskiy in Budapest, and we hope that during his discussions we will manage to come to agreement regarding the text of the basic agreement. Afterward we may decide when and in what form the agreement should be signed.

[Reporter] At a high level.

[Herman] At a high level. Premier Jozsef Antall will visit Moscow at the invitation of President Gorbachev for the signing of the agreement.

[Reporter] Would you please address another topic—the talks for preparing Hungary's association with the European Economic Community continued today in Brussels.

[Herman] Yes. The talks have been going on for several months. It appears that we are now midway through the talks. The discussions are now under way on the basis of a draft detailed agreement on political, economic, trade, and other issues. On the Hungarian side there is naturally a requirement for gradual rapprochement and integration with the European Community. In the course of the current round of negotiations we will survey in detail the possibilities for political and foreign political cooperation with the European Community.

[Reporter] What would the Hungarian side like, when will this agreement be signed?

[Herman] In accordance with our intentions, it appears that there is a good chance for us to sign the agreement in mid-year. After that will follow the period of ratification. It will be necessary for the parliaments of 12 countries, and the Hungarian parliament, to ratify this agreement, and the hope is that this agreement will come into force on 1 January.

[Reporter] Thank you for coming to the studio.

Soviet Ambassador Comments on Relations

LD2103215191 Budapest MTI in English 1900 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 21 (MTI)—The Soviet Union would consider it as an interference in its internal affairs if Hungary were to create independent diplomatic relations with the Baltic republics. To date, the Hungarian Government has taken no steps which could be regarded as offensive, and relations between the two countries are thoroughly above board - Ivan Aboimov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary, said at a press conference in Szeged on Thursday.

Aboimov visited Szeged at the invitation of the local authorities of Csongrad County and the town of Szeged. He met the senior staff of the University of Jozsef Attila, and then answered journalists, questions.

The ambassador said: The exchange-value of the Soviet barracks in Hungary had been jointly decided by the two sides, and the sums are, in his view, unrealistically low. Aboimov expressed his regret that the future of the monuments of Soviet heroes in several villages was being decided without consulting the Soviet Embassy.

Discussing economic issues, Aboimov said Comecon's price system was harmful for the Soviet Union, as it was delivering considerable amounts of products to Hungary at greatly reduced prices, while purchasing goods from Hungarian firms at unrealistically high prices. According to the ambassador, this is the cause of the Soviet Union's 1,500 million rouble debt.

Foreign Ministry Official Ends Visit to Albania

LD2503225791 Budapest MTI in English 2006 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 25 (MTI)—Imre Szokai, deputy secretary of state of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, concluded his visit to Tirana on Monday.

The Hungarian diplomat met Fatos Nanov, prime minister, Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, and Muhamet Kapllani, foreign minister, who received an invitation to visit Hungary from Szokai.

Szokai also met with leaders of the Albanian opposition parties: Sali Berisha, president of the Managing Committee of the Democratic Party, and Sabri Godo, president of the Organizing Committee of the Republic Party of Albania.

In the course of consultations between Szokai and Albanian deputy foreign minister Sokrat Plaka, the sides stated bilateral relations could be significantly expanded. They said their countries support the positive European changes, and encourage the creation of the unified European security structure. They voiced their conviction that fully guaranteeing national and ethnic minority rights, which form an organic part of human rights, contributes in a decisive manner to building international confidence, and intensifying the Helsinki process. They agreed that the rights of the national minorities are fully enforced inasmuch as the members of a minority can exercise those rights collectively, in their communities.

Reportage on Kupa's Visit to the Netherlands

WA2503181591

For reportage on the visit by Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa to the Netherlands, including reports on his talks with top Dutch officials, see the Benelux section of the 25 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Defense Minister Outlines New Defense Principles

LD2203211191 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—"Hungary's military doctrine should be exclusively of a defensive nature, and should rely on the settlement of all conflicts mainly through peaceful means, with a military solution a possibility only as a last resort. Another important basic principle is that no weapons of mass destruction be stationed in the country, coupled with the concept that we should maintain military forces at a level that threatens no country, in other words, that we should equip and operate our defence according to the principle of sufficient defence," said Minister of Defence Lajos Fur, who met representatives of the press on Friday.

"This means that at most 3 per cent of the national gross product can be spent on defence, and that the army personnel in peacetime should account for no more than 0.6-0.8 per cent of the population," the minister said. The current budgetary expenditures are well under 3 per cent, and the number of army personnel totals 121,000.

Reorganization of the Hungarian Army has to be implemented amidst difficult circumstances, as the defence budget approved for this year is unable to counterbalance even the effects of inflation. Certain forced measures will thus have to be taken. Most of the pensioners employed by the Armed Forces have been dismissed, and career soldiers will definitely have to retire by the age of 55, beginning from next January.

Changes are planned in the management structure of the Army, including cuts in the general staff.

Goncz on Information Channels, Military Leadership

LD2403152891

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0805 GMT on 24 March broadcasts an approximately 25-minute recorded studio interview with President Arpad Goncz by Istvan Vizinger in the "At the Microphone" program.

Goncz is asked about how he gains information on official and international events. He says reports come spontaneously and that he tries to verify them officially; he adds that he also reads the newspaper. He admits that the informations channels function rather poorly, and that there are hitches in the provisions of information.

Vizinger asks Goncz if information has ever been kept from him or if he has not been fully informed about events. Goncz replies that he does not believe this to be the case. He says, however, that this has happened during one crisis situation, which he does not specify, when he had to organize his own information network. He adds that he does not believe information was withheld intentionally , rather it was due to overwork.

Vizinger says that a recent NEPSZABADSAG item stated that there is a plan in the Defense Ministry to try to transform the Army so the leader should not be the president of the Republic. Goncz says that the article is a little inaccurate, in that attempts are being made to transform the Army by abolishing the command system, which I do not agree with, Goncz says. Obviously the argument is not yet closed—it will probably be closed within a determined time, he adds. Vizinger asks where the newspaper got the information. Goncz laughingly replies "From the Ministry of Defense." "Indeed might I say from the defense minister or from the prime minister."

Vizinger then moves on to ask Goncz about visits to Europe, particularly regarding a visit to Brussels. Vizinger asks about competition between Eastern European countries establishing relations with the Western countries. He qualifies this by saying that Vaclav Havel visited the NATO headquarters and Arpad Goncz did not.

Goncz says that at the moment this has solely formal significance, because it was impossible to conduct two official visit simultaneously. He says that the visit to Brussels was more important for Havel because the nationality structure of Belgium is made up of three groups, rather than two, and is an exemplary model for the Czech and Slovak republic. He says that there is competition, simply because everybody would like to be first in forming relations. Goncz adds that the Visegrad agreement means that separation will not occur or that Hungary, Poland, and the CSFR do not undermine each other while forming these relations.

Regarding joining the EEC, Goncz says: "It is certain that joining the EEC, in which associate membership is expected in the near future, will not take place at the same time. If it does, then this will have political rather than economic reasons. It is necessary to join the organization at the time when it is useful to both sides."

Vizinger then brings up the topic of people being labeled Communist, and asks Goncz when he thinks that practice will stop. Goncz says that we shall stop it. He says that poor democracies seek scapegoats in some manner. It is necessary to discover who these were in the countries on the road to democracy. We shall be compelled to stop this sooner or later because time makes it impossible for us only to look backward, Goncz says.

On the point of extremism occurring, Goncz says the fear of extremism is justified, first and foremost because these have something to breed on. He adds that he will try his utmost to serve justice and make it felt by either the minorities or by the representatives of the various political hues in the country, as he considers their existence to be equally important.

Goncz then talks at length about the past 20-30 years and the fact that there is now no real social model to follow.

In conclusion, Goncz speaks about the events in other Eastern European countries. He says that he hopes that the Yugoslav issue will be resolved without bloodshed, as with the Czechoslovak and Polish revolution.

Defense Official on Use of Soviet Troop Buildings

LD2303061591 Budapest MTI in English 1640 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 22 (MTI)—In accordance with the government's Thursday [21 March] decision, the real estate and facilities left behind by the parting Soviet troops will be utilised. For the time being this only affects 14 towns and villages. The local governments will not have to pay for the renovation of the buildings originally built with Hungarian finances, as the cost of such renovations will require a great deal of money. Lieutenant General Antal Annus, secretary of state at the Defence Ministry, told a news conference after the government session in Budapest on Friday.

Annus said that the utilization plan had been drawn up with the agreement of the local governments. Quoting a survey, out of the 13,000 buildings meant to serve as flats, 6,348 fail to conform to technical standards and are no longer usable for their original purpose. To date, the relevant authorities have taken over 3,700 flats, with 2,400 labelled as unfit for use.

The state secretary also pointed out that within the Soviet compensation claim of 50,000 million forints, real estates worth around 40,000 million forints have been developed without licence. He said it was regrettable that the Soviet side had to date not as yet recognized any of the Hungarian claims in writing.

At the same time, Antal Annus expressed his hope that the documents forming the basis for the recognition of the compensation claims arising from negligent maintenance and the environmental damage caused would be signed in early April. The Hungarian side maintains the final accounts should be settled once the Soviet troop withdrawals have been completed.

Answering questions, the secretary of state termed Ivan Aboimov's assessment of the Hungarian-Soviet talks over the troop pull-outs as rash. He dismissed the threatening remarks the Soviet ambassador to Budapest had made during his visit to Szeged saying that there were still three months to go for the talks. Annus was of the opinion that no progress was possible unless the Soviet side recognizes the Hungarian demands. He said he had already approved the technology suitable for environmental damage survey, something which the Soviets have still not done. This is one reason why it would have been better for the Soviet ambassador to put the stress on practical solutions. Annus said that there was a chance to settle the issue. The list of Hungarian demands would shortly be completed, allowing them to present the Soviet side with the list of non-usable real estates.

Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo announced that during its Thursday session, the government had approved the bill concerning the settlement of matters dealing with church property, and would present it to parliament for urgent discussion.

Speaking to journalists, Tamas Isepy, secetary of state at the Ministry of Justice, pointed out that the bill was based on the guiding principle of functionality, rather than reprivatization. The main point is that real estates presently in public use and required for the fulfillment of religious functions will pass back into the possession of the churches over a period of 10 years.

Balazs Laszlo said that the government had agreed to the setting up of a new nationwide system of labour, employment and welfare interest representation.

Report Reviews Current Economic Problems

LD2503223891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] In Hungary, inflationary pressure is less than expected, but unemployment is increasing at a rapid pace. This emerges from a report released by the economic research institute. The analysis points out: Hungarian enterprises were hard hit by the decrease in East European exports, and the number of insolvencies grew by leaps and bounds. According to the report, stagnation is expected in crop cultivation, and a decline can be counted on in livestock production. A capitalist stratum that is already accumulating has formed in Hungarian society, and there is a large enterprise sector stratum which is characterized by the situation of those who live off wages and earnings, the economic research institute states.

Labor Minister Views Unemployment Figures, Funds

AU2503145991

[Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 21 March on page 4 carries a 400-word report by Akos Toth on Hungarian unemployment figures, under the headline: "Some 130,000 Unemployed."

NEPSZABADSAG notes that on Wednesday, 20 March, Minister of Labor Gyula Kiss met with county government representatives and informed them that "there are more than 130,000 registered unemployed in Hungary, and it is expected that unemployment figures will grow as months go by." Kiss is quoted as saying that "the employment fund has 5.8 billion forints at its disposal this year, and 60 percent of this amount—some 3.4 billion forints—will be distributed among Hungary's counties."

Interest Council Agrees on New Minimum Wage

LD2203135391 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Excerpt] The last session of the Interest Coordinating Council was broken up because the employees and employers could not agree on the size of a minimum wage. Yesterday, the employers proposed a minimum wage of 6,800 forints. Laszlo Gardai reports from the session.

[Gardai] A month ago, negotiations were mutually suspended, to be continued today. I am pleased to report that at last, agreement has been reached. After a hard debate, the employers accepted the employees' demand of 7,000 forints. Thus, at the end of next month, all concerned, that is, 20 percent of employees will get their wages according to this. The gross minimum wage of 7,000 forints is an increase of 33 percent compared to last year's wage.

Representatives of the government naturally welcome the agreement. On behalf of the employees, Sandor Nagy indicated that they consider this 7,000 forints only as a first step, and he announced that on 23 August they will start new negotiations about the minimum wage. On behalf of the employers, Istvan Orban accepted this; however, he could not promise anything regarding their position at a future date. [passage omitted]

Low Turnout Reported in Budapest By-Elections

LD2403220191 Budapest MTI in English 1702 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 24 (MTI)—By-elections are being held in the No.3 constituency of Komarom-Eszetergom county (in Hungary) and in the No.9 constituency of Budapest's 7th district.

In the Komarom-Esztergom constituency, a successor has to be elected to MP [Member of Parliament] Laszlo Deaki (Alliance of Free Democrats, AFD), who has died in a car accident. The MP of Budapest's No.9 constituency, Gabor Demszky (AFD) has to be replaced by a new deputy because of his election as mayor of Budapest.

According to data collected in the afternoon, in Komarom-Esztergom county 4,651 citizens, i.e. 11 per cent of eligible voters have cast their votes up to 3 p.m. in Budapest, 8,608 people, 19.2 per cent of the 45,183 citizens figuring on the list of eligible voters, have gone to the ballot boxes until 4 p.m.

By-elections are being held also in Budapest's 3rd district for local administration deputy. Up to 4 p.m., 670 persons, 12.7 per cent of the 5,268 eligible voters have cast their votes.

Torgyan Attends NKgP Rally in Kistelek

LD2303213791 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—"The policy of the Independent Smallholders' Party (ISP) [FKgP] cannot be carried on. We have to defend our independence and that can be done best by restoring our unity and taking joint action.

We have to summon the board of the ISP immediately and to replace the leadership." Jozsef Torgyan, an MP and former faction leader of the ISP stated at the rally of the National Smallholders' Party (NSP) [NKgP] in Kistelek (S Hungary) on Saturday.

The ISP is a member of the ruling coalition. Up to early this week, Jozsef Torgyan had been parliamentary faction leader of the ISP but he has been relieved of his post.

The NSP was formed in December 1989, by former ISP members. The secession, they said, had been due to differences in preserving "smallholder traditions."

The NSP has so far played only a minor part in the political life of Hungary. It has no MP in parliament. For these reasons, Torgyan's speech at their rally is all the more significant.

In his speech, Torgyan demanded that ISP ministers and state secretaries be relieved of their posts.

Torgyan was invited to the rally because the NSP considers the sovereignty of the ISP in the coalition to be in danger, Imre Boross, secretary-general of the NSP said. There are traitors in the party, who have given up the basic principles of smallholders, he stressed.

Torgyan called upon members of the two rival parties to create unity.

Participants of the rally expressed their readiness to forget grievances and make efforts towards compromises.

Correction to FKgP Member Refutes Extreme Views

AU2503083591

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "FKgP Member Refutes 'Extreme Right-Wing' Views," published in the 21 March East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 19.

Column one, subslug make read: [Interview with Imre Boross, general secretary of the National Smallholders' Party, by Laszlo Sandor.... (changing word "independent" to "national")

Sejm Debates Electoral Law, Food Tariffs

LD2303222791 Warsaw PAP in English 1936 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—The Sejm today concluded its three-day debate devoted to the first reading of the electoral law to the Senate proposed by the Senate. The authors of the bill did not discuss the role of the Senate and whether or not it should exist at all. It was only stressed that according to the Constitution the Senate consists of 100 senators eligible from among all citizens aged 21 and over. The electoral law should not differ from that adopted in the elections on June 4, 1989. The Senate bill allows for voting by Poles living abroad.

The house heard from Vice Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Budzinski that imported food does not flood Poland which is an exporter of principal farm products rather than importer. Budzinski spoke in reaction to a demand by the deputies to report on the implementation of a Sejm resolution on higher tariffs on imported food products. He informed the house about the plan to increase tariffs on food.

The Sejm also amended the labour code and heard the first reading of the proposed amendments to the commercial code.

The first reading of the recently submitted deputies bill on parenthood, protection of unborn human life, and conditions of abortion permissibility will have its first reading in the Sejm and not in a special committee which is examining the Senate's bill on legal protection of the unborn life. The Sejm decided so following the motion of Deputy Barbara Blida of the Parliamentary Left Floor Group (PKLD). Her motion, running counter to the proposal of Sejm Presidium and the convent of seniors, was passed with 110 votes (102 were against and 29 abstained).

The Sejm will hold its next meeting probably in early April.

Sejm Hears Ombudswoman Criticize Administration

LD2303002191 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—In her annual report on the activity of the Ombudsman Office and the observance of law and civil freedoms delivered to the Sejm (lower house) today, Ewa Letowska criticised the administration for political bias and low professional level.

The administration in its everyday routine demonstrates ignorance of the human rights conventions, and is surprised that the ombudswoman ciritcises its moves, Letowska said.

She also observed that individual organs of the administration poorly communicate with one another and in result discrepancies and inconsistencies in decisions of various bodies accumulate and problems which need coordination are solved slowly.

Also today the Sejm considered amendments to the law on employment, major changes concerning the rights to unemployment benefits. The bill also proposes the introduction of "public works" to limit unemployment on the one hand, and on the other to help socio-economic development and environmental protection. The concept was supported by numerous deputies.

Labour Minister Michal Boni briefed deputies on the government's work on new retirement bills and said that drafts might be submitted to the Sejm in May.

Deputies also heard the interior vice-minister's report on purchasing real estate by foreigners and adopted laws on the turnover of securities and fund of trustees and on the employment and rehabilitation of disabled people.

The chamber obliged the Constitutional Committee to submit a report on electoral bills to the Sejm by April 25 and decided to postpone voting on further amendments to the Constitution till next sitting.

The Sejm also elected Professor Witold Karczewski, a 61-year-old physician from Warsaw, for the chairman of the Research Committee.

On Saturday [23 March] the Sejm will continue its debates.

Council of Ministers Discusses Environment Police

AU2503150991 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Mar 91 p 1

[Jan Forowicz report: "Privatization and Drugs"]

[Text] At its 19 March meeting, the Council of Ministers discussed reprivatization and charges for drugs, after which it decided to petition the Sejm about appointing an environmental police force. It also discussed the status of broadcasting and television.

Speaking to RZECZPOSPOLITA about the debate on reprivatization, Wojciech Goralski, vice minister of ownership transformations, said: "We decided that instead of presenting the Sejm with different bills on reprivatization, one from each ministry, we would present one single bill. After that, we decided that there would be one single form of compensation for confiscated property, i.e. securities, except for certain cases where people had been deprived of land, in which case alternative plots of land could be offered. Finally, we decided that compensation will not equal the value of the assets being claimed for. That is because it is difficult to establish the exact value of assets, and impossible to heap the financial burden of what happened dozens of years ago onto the shoulders of today's society."

The Council decided to abolish the right to free drugs, a right enjoyed by almost 10 million Poles. Drugs will be

divided into three categories. The new policy on drugs is meant to save at least one trillion zlotys each year. The Council said that financial help would be available to those in need of more expensive drugs.

On the subject of the environmental police, Andrzej Walewski, chief environmental inspector, told RZECZPOSPOLITA: "Instead of several dozen environmental services, we will have one single service, similar to that in some Western countries. It will be a credible, specialized service. It will have the right to order a halt to environmentally-harmful production"

The Council of Ministers appointed a team to work out an improved bill on Polish radio and television. Marek Markiewicz, deputy chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, told RZECZPOSPOLITA: "Several bills on radio and television, including two from the government, have already been drafted. The Council decided to withdraw the two government drafts from the Sejm, but will amend and subsequently reinstate one of them, namely the bill that was placed before the Sejm on 11 September by a group of deputies which includes Prime Minister Bielecki. That bill earned firm support from regional radio and television centers. The Council will appoint a team to make amendments to this deputies' bill."

There are plans to amend the law on cemeteries and the disposal of the dead. The law in its present form permits the conversion of cemeteries for other uses 40 years after the last burial. The Council of Ministers abolished the 40 year minimum and introduced the need to seek permission from religious groups before a cemetery could be converted.

The Council of Ministers also acquainted itself with a system of rules to be observed during negotiations to settle collective labor disputes. Those taking part in these negotiations should do so in good faith, with the intention of achieving results, and they should use the correct terminology and adhere to commitments already adopted, said Labor Minister Michal Boni.

Solidarity Body Announces 'Nationwide Protest'

AU2203140291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Marian Strzelecki report: "Solidarity Protests. The OPZZ Demonstrates"]

[Text] The Lodz chapter of "Solidarity" has often expressed its fears about the present condition of light industry and the standard of living of the inhabitants of Lodz voivodship.

In a resolution adopted a few days ago, Lodz "Solidarity" draws the government's attention to "the negative effects of economic policy" and demands changes. The resolution opposes the fact that the communist nomenklatura has acquired ownership rights in privatized enterprises.

In a situation where workers earn half as much as they did one year ago, when every ninth workers is unemployed and there is one job vacancy for every 25 workers, and when over 50 percent of the population is on the poverty line, changes have to be made so the costs of the reform do not affect mainly the poorest members of society, says the resolution. The resolution also calls for earlier parliamentary elections.

In support of its demands, Lodz "Solidarity" has announced a nationwide protest action on 26 March. However, if the "Solidarity" National Executive Commission fails to express its support, the protest action will be restricted to the Lodz region.

Krzysztof Fratczak, deputy chairman of the Lodz chapter, said that although "nearly everything in Lodz is falling apart," the protest against government policies should not take the form of a strike.

In the meantime, the Polish Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] has planned a rally to be held in Lodz on Friday, 22 March, to be attended by almost 20,000 people, as a protest against government economic policy and the government's failure to respond to past union demands about the wage growth tax and the future of light industry, which is in a state of deep recession.

If the rally proves ineffective, there will be rallies in other parts of the country, including one in Warsaw on 19 April.

OPZZ Nationwide Protest Over Pay, Unemployment

LD2303055791 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Text] Lodz, March 23—The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) began its nationwide protest action over pay and unemployment with a demonstration staged in Lodz, central Poland.

The demonstrators, joined by OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz, protested against unemployment, low pay, excess wage tax and the reform programme devised by Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz.

In their petitions addressed to voivodes of four central regions of Poland, trade union members called for a change of the economic policy of the state. The voivode of Lodz, Waldemar Bohdanowicz, agreed to hold talks with trade unionists in early April.

Solidarity Commission Elects Presidium

AU2503162491 Warsaw PAP in English 2353 GMT 20 Mar 91

[Text] Gdansk, 20 March (PAP)—For four hours participants in today's meeting of the National Commission of Solidarity here were discussing matters pertaining to the

appointment of new members of the commission's Presidium, which according to Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski should number about 20 persons.

Members of the former Presidium appointed also this time include: chairmen of the largest regions: Bogdan Borusewicz (Gdansk), Maciej Jankowski (Mazowsze), Stefan Jurczak (Malopolska), Alojzy Pietrzyk (Upper Silesia), Tomasz Wojcik (Lower Silesia) and Janusz Palubicki (the union's treasurer), Bogdan Lis (International Affairs), Wojciech Arkuszewski (Business Foundation of Solidarity).

The commission elected also: Waldemar Bartosz (Kielce), Longin Komolowski (Western Pomerania), Wojciech Lica (Lubin Copper Basin), Eugeniusz Polmanski (Katowice), Slawomir Rogucki (Chelm), Zbigniew Sieczkos (Rzeszow), Stanislaw Weglarz (Lublin). Jan Rulewski resigned from running for a seat in the Presidium while two candidates submitted by Krzaklewski lost in the voting.

The discussion on current political and economic problems focused on the growing social tensions, deteriorating living conditions coupled with the lack of prospects for their improvement, and the wage growth tax.

The national commission resolved not to give its support to a protest action in Lodz scheduled for 26 March.

In a resolution, the commission called on the Ministry of Labour to set the minimum wage at 650,000 zlotys and protested against obligatory unpaid holidays given to workers by enterprises facing decline in demand, which is a commonplace practice now. The commission authorized the Presidium to support a strike at "Orbis" travel agency if respective decisions are taken by the employees.

The commission called on deputies, members of Solidarity, to oppose attempts at restricting the right to strike in the draft law on trade unions.

Krzaklewski Interviewed on Solidarity Role

PM2103114491 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 8 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Marian Krzaklewski, chairman of the Solidarity trade union, by Henryk Nowaczyk; place and date not given: "Efficiency of Action Is What Counts Most"]

[Text] [Nowaczyk] You have inherited a legacy from a man surrounded by legend, which is no help with starting in any circumstances. On the other hand, however, you were on the "starting blocks" competing for the union leadership much earlier, since you moved from the south of the country to Gdansk a year ago.

[Krzaklewski] When I decided to come and live in Gdansk permanently, I did not think of taking over the leadership of the union. On the one hand, I knew that I could not disappoint the trust of those who gave me wholesale support in the voting in the Silesia-Dabrowa region—where Solidarity has its largest membership group and largest worker concentration—or those who voted for me during Solidarity's Second National Congress and in the election to the National Commission's Presidium last year. On the other hand, from the perspective of my intensive work for and on behalf of Solidarity, which dates back to 1980 (with a single break for my imprisonment in 1984), if I were to leave the union at the half-way mark in its progress to a democratic Poland, it would be tantamount to negating both myself and the fundamental choices I have made in my life. I believed that in this situation I even had to leave my own professional career aside for a while, because the mass departures of professional Solidarity activists posed a threat of the union's falling into the wrong hands.

[Nowaczyk] In fact, this is the first time since its inception that Solidarity has started to take shape exclusively as a trade union. The whole political "outer layer," which was naturally associated with the movement at the time when Solidarity was fighting the totalitarian system, is now beginning to establish its own identity. Is this good or bad?

[Krzaklewski] Certainly good, because that political "outer layer," as you call it, was not, and is not now, welcomed by the majority of Solidarity members, since they see their union predominantly as an instrument for defending workers' rights. On the other hand, we must not ignore the fact that the average Pole still perceives in Solidarity the same causative force that constituted the source and motor behind the changes that took place and that even today remain a guarantor of political and structural reforms.

[Nowaczyk] Zbigniew Bujak recently commented on the position of the trade unions more or less as follows: The trade unions are now in a very unfortunate situation. They still command a strong political position, but things are different in enterprises themselves. As we establish powerful owners through privatization, we must also establish strong protectors of the employees' rights.

[Krzaklewski] This is a most current problem. A strong trade union usually develops whenever it has to deal with a strong employer. I am certainly in favor of this sequence of developments. However, life always provides more complex scenarios. This is because employers only have proverbial "short blankets" at their disposal and, to complicate things even further, these employers are in reality government sectors, led by the Finance Ministry. Most of the recent negotiations conducted by the union at the national level have been within government sectors in the face of the threatened strikes, and the critical points of the negotiations pivoted on matters that depended on the Finance Ministry's decisions.

[Nowaczyk] The latter being quite impoverished itself.

[Krzaklewski] This is true, but at the same time the negotiations revealed certain fundamental errors committed by this mass employer, errors involving both the very structure of legislative regulations and their practical implementation. These are precisely categories within which the trade union confronting an employer with a "short blanket" can obtain concrete results by pointing out the errors and demanding their elimination.

[Nowaczyk] Just before our interview, you received some gifts here, including a miner's statuette sculpted in coal and a decorative glass tankard. Would the latter be an allusion to the "popiwek" [new tax on high wages; reference contains pun on a beer-drinking term]?

[Krzaklewski] If I am to comment on the new anti-inflation tax act in its latest version, I should like to tell you this: While I do not deny the need for a taxation system to safeguard the economic reforms during the period of increasing inflation, I nevertheless believe that both the relevant act of last year and the one passed this year fail to take into account the consequences of the mistakes made in the earlier legislative acts of this kind. The legislator did not apply any legislative solutions that would protect the lowest-paid employees by giving them a chance to earn a decent wage in return for honest and solid work. Nor do the acts give sufficient scope to the potential contained in increased efficiency, and as a result they curtail the function of a whole system of incentives. This is because individual indices are too one-sided. In addition, the proposed solutions should always be presented in more detail so that they can link the potential adjustments of the base earnings allowance exempt from additional taxation with well-defined production efficiency. Unfortunately, the government side assumes that in enterprises owned by so-called nonnatural owners (that is, state-owned enterprises) this very question becomes the subject of manipulation by directors and chief accountants. I believe that the negative effects of the anti-inflation act can be significantly counterbalanced through the application of individual decisions on given tax situations and properly defined and formulated efficiency indices.

The act also contains an obvious error that has not been properly corrected. This is the fact that the pay levels according to which the base pay allowance exempt from the "popiwek" is calculated were determined back in the period of communist rule. Consequently, this gives rise to vast pay differentials, even within the same sector. The case of the glass-making industry is a classic example of this situation: Employees work in exceptionally difficult working conditions, while their wages are incommensurably low. As a result of the industry's exceptionally low wages and very limited infrastructure—the latter being a relic of the communist system—it is not possible to take advantage of the colossal chance offered by the numerous orders opening up real export opportunities. This paradox leads to a situation where, after two years of the reform, work forces' wages in glass-making plants are lower by a factor of two or more than those in heavy industry, the former system's privileged darling. On the other hand, experts agree that the glass-making industry is a better candidate for quick privatization.

[Nowaczyk] Information on current levels of wages and salaries in Poland was recently published in the press. The most horrifying thing was not the colossal difference between the highest and lowest pay levels, which are much more disparate in Poland than in the developed Western European countries, but the fact that the lowest pay is no longer sufficient to meet the needs of even the poorest living standards.

[Krzaklewski] And these disparities are increasing. The two "popiwek" acts introduced recently failed to close the pay levels gap and to link pay levels to production efficiency factors. In this situation, toward the end of last year our union protested the proposed Council of Ministers decree on commission payments to directors and workers' councils. Despite our protest, the decree was implemented. In this way, the government contradicts its own decisions, as it were, since it still insists that a state-owned enterprise is a "nonnatural" employer. Therefore, awarding commission payments to the heads of such enterprises becomes a "nonnatural" way of distributing bonuses. Let them indeed award bonuses, but these should depend on real production results and remain within limits defined by their agreed relation to the average pay in the enterprise! They cannot be awarded to managers of inefficient companies. Why am I talking about this? Simply to make employees of inefficient enterprises realize that their directors often use the "popiwek" argument to conceal their own incompetence.

[Nowaczyk] My own observations, conducted over many years, suggest that enterprises are still unable to release their simple reserves, not to mention change their production profile to manufacture more profitable goods. In addition, we are still burdened by an excessive administrative apparatus.

[Krzaklewski] Let us also add here the considerable decapitalization of enterprises' assets and the lack of accumulated resources to recover these assets. There is much money circulating between and among enterprises, often in the form of debt or delayed debt payments, and so on. One weak link in this chain of mutual dependencies can cause a lot of trouble to all other partners involved.

Moreover, in many enterprises the management echelons do not show sufficient dynamism or active involvement. For example, our light industry—which finds itself in a critical condition at present—has recently recorded an exporting reserve capacity of some $100 million, because Western countries changed their quota restrictions for certain Polish goods.

Time flies by, and all the while the sector's founding body, as well as enterprise directors, behave as if they did not want to take advantage of this opportunity, ignoring

the chance of improving their weak financial situation by taking up such serious export orders. They are waiting for directives to come from above. They are involving the union in joint accountability for their own actions—actions which, indeed, are the sole responsibility of the employer.

[Nowaczyk] For the time being we are witnessing strikes and protests demanding the "popiwek" law's repeal. There is also evidence of the development of a peculiar rivalry between individual trade unions. All this persists against the background of a chaotic, disorganized economy, incompetence on the part of most of its authors, and an all-pervading apathy. The overall picture is simply horrifying.

[Krzaklewski] While the state is pursuing the path to reform—one of major importance for Poland—actions designed exclusively to win compensatory pay deals are politically much more clearly defined than the kind of compensation-cum-reform schemes pursued by Solidarity. In the present circumstances, the purely compensatory demands posed by postcommunist unions are very obviously politically inspired. Perhaps ordinary, rank-and-file members of such unions as the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] and others do not realize this, but the concentration of uncompromising demands for compensatory pay deals in such key areas of the Polish economy as transport, railroads, communications, and the power and mining industry, reinforces my conviction that some other interests are at stake here.

These actions are not accidental, and the ideological option which certainly accompanied the creation of the unions in question during the period of martial law suggests a number of negative associations. Moreover, the highly complex international situation poses a growing threat, too.

[Nowaczyk] In the first place, I believe that the Polish public should have all this spelled out clearly and openly. Second, Solidarity is not without blame either, because its involvement in politics created a kind of vacuum in the field devoted strictly to trade union issues. In many enterprises the trade union bearing the name Solidarity demonstrates very poor dynamism indeed. Furthermore, the very ethos of Solidarity has somehow become lost in such enterprises in the process—an ethos that has always been very important to Polish people and that, in my opinion, has lost none of its significance. After all, human solidarity is of capital importance for us in times of crisis. Nonetheless, everybody seems to have forgotten this truth today in the hard reality of the battle they are all waging—a battle increasingly governed by the law of the jungle.

[Krzaklewski] In my address during our recent congress, I emphasized the need to "return to the source," to the values which are involved in every moral choice we make. I believe that an effective solution of all problems faced by our union, as well as its own effectiveness, depend precisely on whether we make a successful return to the original Solidarity ethos.

To this end, we must urgently define the tasks designed to offer protection to the weakest in the first run.

In addition, the union should take special care to watch privatization processes very closely so we can counteract all potential infringements of the law in the interest of the former ruling oligarchy.

[Nowaczyk] We know that you are against coming to an agreement with the OPZZ, but today the situation demands that such an agreement be made. Otherwise, the strike race could stretch endlessly on and on.

[Krzaklewski] But at the same time I favor clear-cut situations. If the other unions were to make a firm decision to distance themselves altogether from their roots—after all, for many years they played a role as a kind of facade, a substitute for true unions—the question could be open to change. I am thinking here of a kind of a renewal, a purification from the bottom up to the top layers.

[Nowaczyk] It is good that you leave an open door, as it were, as a politician. Back in that memorable August of 1980, Walesa spoke of the need to come to an agreement "like one Pole with another." Today, in the era of constant threats, this issue is still very current.

[Krzaklewski] In the years 1980-1981 the Solidarity trade union, which grouped together 10 million members, was a movement uniting the Polish people, including rank-and-file members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], in a struggle against totalitarianism, privileges accessible only to the ruling elite, and social injustice. The system at that time has since fallen, but the problems remained with us, because companies set up by members of the nomenklatura are still in control of the situation. Fortunately, their control over the political situation is quite limited, but they certainly influence the economic situation to a much larger extent. It is simple: Members of the former establishment have the money—the very big money. This is why we must have a legal and financial settling of accounts with those years. We are not interested in an act of vengeance, or in invoking the principle of collective responsibility; what we are after is simple justice.

[Nowaczyk] You are a computer scientist by profession. You are, therefore, familiar with the laws of social cybernetics. How much does this knowledge assist you in carrying out your function in the union?

[Krzaklewski] The fundamental initial operation of any computer scientist is to organize his sets of data and put them in order. Next, on the basis of this data, he works out models that will enable him to make correct prognoses of future situations.

All these operations allow me to define the algorithmic formula of action—also in our union work. To reach the planned goal through a succession of finalized, particular

tasks. Above all, every computer scientist strives—as it were, subconsciously—for effective action, leading to implementation of his projects and to obtaining practical results. This last goal is particularly important in union work.

[Nowaczyk] Thank you for talking to us.

ROAD's Bujak on Democratic Union, Elections

AU1903211991 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15-17 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Zbigniew Bujak, leading ROAD member, by Bronislaw Tumilowicz; place and date not given: "Polish Politics Needs New Faces"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Tumilowicz] Are you still a member of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD]?

[Bujak] Yes.

[Tumilowicz] What about your membership in a club that does not agree with the decisions that were adopted at the first ROAD congress?

[Bujak] It is an internal club that is made up of delegates to the congress. We are working on an alternative program that favors ROAD autonomy. We will submit it at an extraordinary congress and we are hoping that we will be able to convince everyone else of the need for autonomy.

[Tumilowicz] What arguments are there against merging with Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Democratic Union?

[Bujak] First, forming a bloc uniting members of ROAD, the Democratic Union, and the Forum of the Democratic Right would involve an enormous number of internal differences, and that means that the organization would be unstable and, as a result, weak. We should seek to create an organization that is more cohesive in terms of its ideology and program. It is significant that the Democratic Union is connected with many activists who were responsible for the poor implementation of what was the poor program of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government, and they are responsible for the collapse of that program.

[Tumilowicz] What was bad about it?

[Bujak] It failed to take account of the interests of the middle class (budget sphere employees), and of workers and peasants.

There should be a program that will appeal to people by virtue of its Western, social-democratic language. I think that this is a point on which I differ fundamentally from people in the Democratic Union and from supporters of a merger with it. Right now, our club is the only organization that is working out that kind of program. [passage omitted]

[Tumilowicz] You have displayed realism as a politician on more than one occasion. You retained that realism following the "Solidarity" victory. Do you still have enough of an objective view of the situation and the distribution of political forces following the defeat of the Tadeusz Mazowiecki camp? It is felt by some that not uniting with the Democratic Union is evidence of a lack of realism, because an autonomous ROAD may be unable to obtain the required number of votes to be represented in Parliament.

[Bujak] I do not reject the possibility that we would have a better chance in the elections if we formed a coalition with the Democratic Union. However, my position is that Polish politics requires new faces. That is why what matters more than a possible election coalition is the formulation of tasks for potential candidates, deciding what they will be fighting for in Parliament and whose interests they will represent. I am hoping that a program that will include the countryside loan institutions and shareholder circles that I have talked about will obtain the support of workers and farmers. It will also find support, because the kind of politician that we have had until now has not succeeded in Poland. The Tyminski phenomenon has convinced me that voters are looking for a new type of politician, and it is an experience that I value very much.

[Tumilowicz] So, you want to repeat, copy Tyminski's success in a certain sense?

[Bujak] Yes, I think that the fact that our candidates will be completely new may be their greatest trump card. [passage omitted]

ROAD's 'Pact for Poland' Proposal Outdated

AU2103085591 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Mar 91 p 12

['LAW'-signed report: "Who Needs This Pact?"]

[Text] During the last few weeks, the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] and the deputies of the Democratic Union Deputies Club have been proposing a "pact for Poland"—a "broad social accord on the democratic and market changes Poland needs."

The pact would set the pace and the costs of the needed reforms. The accord would be signed by the most important political elements in Poland; namely, political parties, the government, and the trade unions. It would not be just an accord of various political forces, but, as Jacek Kuron called it: "A corporate accord comprising various interest groups."

When asked about the proposed pact during his last press conference, Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz, replied: "An accord of political and social forces is necessary to ensure the success of the reforms."

Is such a pact necessary or even realistic? Representatives of the Center Accord, the Liberal Democratic Congress, and the government made the following comments:

Jacek Maziarski, chairman of the Center Accord's Main Board: "The pact is not needed if it is to be another 'unity front,' or something similar. It is possible that some kind of agreement is needed, but only on specific points such as rules of fair play and accepted values. Even in this form it would be unrealistic. The Democratic Union and ROAD tend to elevate political disputes to a moral plane, and if people choose to hold different political views they are branded as immoral. I doubt whether the Democratic Union can abandon its habit of using political invective. An accord to observe political guidelines is not possible, especially now on the eve of the Sejm elections, when the conflicts are bound to be heightened. This 'pact for Poland' must be treated as a political gimmick. The road to democracy and a market economy is threatened by a possible social explosion. The explosion can be avoided by changing our economic policy, and not by pacts, which are designed to mesmerize society. Such a pact might increase optimism, but it would not change the living conditions. The delusion that we could control society by such a pact is very dangerous."

Donald Tusk of the Liberal Democratic Congress: "Who needs this pact? If only its prospective participants were to agree that they want a free market economy, there would be no need for it. If we start a debate on the kind of market we want, we shall never agree. I do not know what this pact is to be based on. Is it to be on the existence of a signed piece of paper? Who is to agree to the list of signatories? This proposal does not convince me. It is just one more empty gesture designed to mask the indispensable political differences between various groups. We must not enter any pact before the upcoming elections, because they will allow us to clarify the Polish political scene. Our congress wants to be a spokesman for small, medium, and large businesses. Many people are becoming familiar with our program, and we have shed our anonymity. We believe that we will be able to gather support from all people who resent the all-encroaching tendency of the church, who hold liberal economic views, and who have had enough of 'Solidarity' martyrs. By joining such a pact the members would lose their natural electorate. Individually, we can attract many more votes and have a better chance of defending market reforms. The last few months have shown that it is hard to formulate a joint interest for the post-'Solidarity' factions.

"I fear that the proposed collective pact of political parties and trade unions would only serve to automatically politicize all salary demands. This is precisely what we should avoid. The congress is proposing another way; namely, standing negotiating bodies composed of trade unions, employers, and the government. This will decentralize conflicts and enable them to be resolved."

Government spokesman Andrzej Zarebski: "I am very uneasy about the political aspects of such a pact. I would prefer to define an area of 'mutual benefit,' an area that would be outside the political arena, especially during the elections. It is a case of the nonquestioning of fundamental economic strategies; namely, a free market, the principle of private property, and accord on the fundamental aim, specifically, the integration of Poland into European structures before the end of this century. 'Institutionalization' of such principles is only required if reforms are threatened, for example, by forces of the former regime or a new political utopia. The pact cannot be used to construct another monoparty structure. It must not hinder political pluralism. We need an effective system to defuse social tensions right now by creating a visible negotiating structure. The state must cease to play the role of the great employer. Employer associations must be formed. Negotiations of fundamental conflicts could then take place in the proper triangle: employers, trade unions, and government."

Jan Lopuszanski, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Christian National Union: "I tried to understand what this proposal is based on. From what I could understand, it is an attempt to create a different system of governing, one that would be outside the Constitution. Its introduction would result in a bipolar system of authority in Poland. I reject this concept. Nevertheless, ROAD is an influential movement, and its propositions have to be taken seriously and properly opposed.

National Party: State 'Must Control' Economy

LD2303223691 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—The chief committee of the National Party today approved its programme, supporting the economic changes which lead to establishing capitalist economy in Poland. The party wants an end to foreign capital's privileges and selling away national assets to aliens. It says privatization should proceed gradually, and the state must control the economic system. Poland must be a sovereign and neutral country, the National Party says. Germany ought to pay compensations to Poles wronged during World War II, while the debts incurred by post-war anti-national Communist rulers should not be paid back, the party postulates.

Socialist Party Spokesman Denies Party Split

AU2203140491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Mar 91 p 2

['LAW'-signed report: "There Is No Question Of a Split"]

[Text] Despite the fact that Senator Jan Jozef Lipski said on Saturday that his decision to quit the chairmanship of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS] is final, the PPS leadership hopes he will change his mind. An extraordinary

meeting of the PPS Supreme Council has been convened for Saturday, at which final decisions are to be made.

Wieslaw Olejnik from the PPS leadership told us that Lidia Ciolkoszowa, who was active in the PPS in Poland before the war and in the emigre PPS after the war, and who now lives in London, has been invited to the Saturday meeting. Ciolkoszowa has been honorary chairman of the PPS since the 1990 unification congress.

Olejnik said there is no attempt to split the party. "The chairman's decision is purely a personal one." PPS Spokesman Adrian Stankowski agrees: "There is no question of a split. That is the message conveyed in reports from field organizations since Saturday."

"Various streams have clashed with each other inside the PPS from the very beginning, but the differences were no greater than the ones within other parties," said Olejnik.

Jan Jozef Lipski, an activist of many years' standing and cofounder of the Workers Defense Committee [KOR], was PPS leader from the autumn of 1987, when the party reemerged after a long absence under communist rule. However, there was soon a split; less than one year later, a radical group led by Piotr Ikonowicz, calling itself the PPS-Democratic Revolution, was formed. It was followed by a third stream, Grzegorz Ilka's PPS-Coordinating Commission.

The 1990 unification congress united the torn party. At this congress, the emigre PPS led by Lidia Ciolkoszowa became part of the PPS in Poland.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Germany

LD1803140691 Berlin ADN in German 1054 GMT 18 Mar 91

[Text] Szczecin (ADN)—At the conclusion of his visit to Poland, Alfred Gomolka, Minister-President of Mecklenburg/Eastern Pomerania, and the voivodes of Szczecin, Marek Talasiecicz; of Kozalin, Stanislaw Soch; and of Pila, Waldemar Jordan, signed a joint declaration. It was released at a press conference in Szczecin today. It emphasizes the special commitment of the four border regions to making their contribution to Polish-German reconciliation. Both sides wish for greater mutual understanding and support the development of relations in all areas in the interest of the citizens, the declaration says.

The agreement lists 17 priority areas for future cooperation. They stretch from regional planning to modernization and extension of transportation links, improvement of the environment, particularly at the mouth of the Oder, and exchange of experiences of administrative and judicial authorities.

The Federal Land Mecklenburg/Western Pomerania and the three northwestern Polish voivodships will contribute to the work of the German-Polish Government commission for near-border and regional cooperation. They will establish regular contacts between the departments of the land government and the relevant voivodship offices. The agreement is the first of its kind between Polish and German regions.

Talks With Germany Focus on Minorities

AU2503152391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Mar 91 pp 1, 7

[M.W. report: "Without Major Differences"]

[Text] The fourth round of Polish-German talks in Bonn on 19 and 20 March on the subject of a treaty on partnerlike cooperation and good neighborliness confirms both countries' desire to find constructive solutions, based on international law, to the problem of ethnic minorities in each of them.

According to reports from PAP's Bonn correspondent, the German side said that Poland's legislation on ethnic minorities conforms to European standards, and therefore special regulations are unnecessary. As we know, representatives of displaced communities in Germany exerted pressure on the federal government to demand special regulations during talks with Poland.

Contrary to earlier beliefs, Article 15 of the future treaty has not been finalized. The rights and obligations of the ethnic minorities will probably be contained in more than one article. The Polish side very much wants the relevant regulations to be clear and unequivocal, so that they can promote cooperation and accord between Germany and Poland and not create conflicts.

The treaty is expected to contain about 35 articles, of which five are yet to be agreed upon. These five are important because they discuss not only ethnic minorities but also security, Poland's relations with the EC, and the protection of cultural monuments.

The next round of talks is scheduled for 4 and 5 April in Warsaw, so there is a good chance that both the friendship treaty and the border treaty already concluded will be examined by both parliaments before the summer recess. Karl Heinz Hornhues, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union in the Bundestag, expressed the same desire after his talks with Prime Minister Bielecki in Warsaw on 20 March. "We determined that as far as the treaty is concerned, there are no major differences between us," he said.

Former Politburo Members Sentenced

AU2503202291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/3/1991—Monday, March 25, in public session, the Bucharest Military Court passed the sentence against the 21 former Politburo members tried for the charge of genocide.

The court decided, in accordance with Art. 334 of Penal Law, to change charges as follows:

For defendants Stefan Andrei, Lina Ciobanu, Ludovic Fazekas, Mihai Gere, Ana Muresan, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Dumitru Popescu, Ion Stoian, Ioan Toma and Ioan Totu, from the crime of genocide to the crime of favouring the offender. The court condemned Dumitru Popescu and Ioan Totu to 5 years and 6 months in prison and to 5 years of deprivation of rights; Ludovic Fazekas to 4 years and 6 months in prison and 4 years of deprivation of rights; Paul Niculescu-Mizil to 3 years and 6 months in prison and 3 years of deprivation of rights.

For the same charge, the court condemned Stefan Andrei, Silviu Curticeanu, Mihai Gere, Ion Stoian and Ioan Toma to 2 years and 10 months in prison, and 2 years deprivation of rights. Lina Ciobanu and Ana Muresan were sentenced to 2 years in prison and 2 years deprivation of rights.

In the case of Ion Radu and Suzanica Gadea, the change of charge from genocide to favouring the offender led to sentences of 3 years in prison and 3 years deprivation of rights for the former and 2 years in prison and 2 years deprivation of rights for the latter.

The charge against defendants Nicolae Constantin and Miu Dobrescu was changed from genocide to negligence on duty, for which the former carried a sentence of 3 years in prison and the latter one of 2 years.

For the offence of violation of the regulations on arms and ammunition, Mihai Gere was sentenced to 1 year in prison, Dumitru Popescu to 1 year and Gheorghe Oprea to 1 year and 6 months in prison.

In keeping with the provisions of Penal Law Mihai Gere and Dumitru Popescu will carry the hardest punishment, that is 2 years and 10 months in prison for the former and 5 years and 6 months in prison for the latter, besides the complementary sentence given each.

Sentences for defendants Lina Ciobanu, Miu Dobrescu, Suzanica Gadea, Ana Muresan and Gheorghe Oprea are conditionally suspended for a period of probation. The court warned about consequences from not observing the terms of their suspended sentences.

The court also suspended the investigative detention of defendants Miu Dobrescu, Suzanica Gadea and Ana Muresan, as well as their obligation not to leave town. Accordingly, defendants Lina Ciobanu and Gheorghe Oprea were set free.

The court acquitted defendants Gheorghe David, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Constantin Radu and Iosif Szasz of the charge of genocide.

The court released assets belonging to the defendants that had been held in custody as a precautionary measure during the trial.

An appeal can be filed within 10 days from the date the sentence was passed.

Meeting for Solidarity With Moldova Held

AU2303170691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1551 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/3/1991 –The 20th meeting of solidarity with the Republic of Moldova staged by the "Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina" Cultural Society took place on Saturday in Bucharest's Revolution Square. The rally opened with a document being read out that was to be lodged the same day at the Soviet Embassy of Bucharest.

The presence in the stand of a group of children and youths from Bessarabia accompanied by their teachers and by deputies Ion Ratiu, on behalf of the National Peasant Party, and Dan Lazarescu, on behalf of the National Liberal Party, marked a special moment during the meeting.

About 1330 hrs demonstrators started a march along Bucharest's avenues, with a first stop at the headquarters of the Assembly of Deputies in Dealul Mitropoliei.

According to Mr. Gheorghe Gavrila Copil, president of the society, the participants in the march lit candles as a protest against the Romanian Parliament's attitude that had failed to join the Moldovan parliamentarians in their aspirations and had never yet celebrated the day of Bessarabia's union with Romania.

The marchers shouted antipresidential and pro-monarchist slogans, as well as some directed against members of the country's parliament. A document was lodged there concerning the separation of Bessarabia and Bukovina from Romania's territory. The participants then headed for the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest in order to lodge the document read at the meeting.

Protest Note on Referendum Handed to Soviet Embassy

AU2303185091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1813 GMT 23 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/3/1991—The participants in the meeting organized in Bucharest's Revolution Square on Saturday by the "Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina" Cultural Society reached the Soviet Embassy Headquarters and handed an embassy representative a protest addressed to President Mikhail Gorbachev and to the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. The protest reads, among other things: "In violation of the

sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova whose parliament and government had rejected the referendum of March 17, 1991, the union bodies infringed the provisions of the Paris Charter on fundamental human rights; the referendum was imposed by force and grossly rigged, the composition of the electorate being changed under military terror."

Demonstrators shouted antipresidential, anticommunist and promonarchist slogans, as well as some against members of Parliament or voicing their solidarity with the brothers across the Prut. No incidents occurred.

Nastase Signs Documents, Ends Visit to Chisinau

AU2503202391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/3/1991—Adrian Nastase, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, and Nicolae Tiu, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Moldova, signed in Chisinau [Kishinev] the protocol on the collaboration between the two ministries.

The document stipulates the expansion of the collaboration in fields of mutual interest as well as in international life. The modalities are set to carry into effect the conventions established during the meetings between the leaders of the Republic of Moldova and of Romania, between the prime ministers as well as at other levels, meant to contribute to expanding and diversifying the economic, cultural, scientific and educational collaboration, in tourism, sports as well as in other fields of activity. Special stress was laid on the continuation and strengthening of the direct ties between the two foreign ministries.

After the signing of the protocol, the two foreign ministers made addresses where they emphasized the significance of that document for the evolution of the relations between the signing sides.

In the afternoon the Romanian minister of foreign affairs together with the officials accompanying him left for Bucharest.

FSN Wants Tenants To Own Dwellings

AU2503210991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2028 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/3/1991—The meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Steering Committee of the National Salvation Front [FSN] was held on March 25, 1991 when analysis was made of the questions concerning the consolidation of the National Salvation Front as a party and the setting up of the working bodies of the Steering Committee.

At the proposal of the FSN national leader, Mr. Petre Roman, the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front Steering Committee required the government to study the possibility for the citizens to become owners of the state flats they are living in, with rent redeeming their costs, and the social security requirements.

It was also required that a programme be prepared for the lease of non-agricultural areas to those wishing to build dwellings and summer houses.

Former FSN Group Leader Interviewed

AU2203172491 Bucharest LIBERTATEA in Romanian 15 Mar 91 pp 1,4

[Interview with Liviu Muresan, "Ex-Leader of the National Salvation Front Parliamentary Group in the Deputies Assembly," by Octavian Andronic; place and date not given: "I Am Not One of Those Who Gives Up Easily"—first paragraph is LIBERTATEA introduction]

[Text] As reported yesterday [14 March], a "discreet" play was put on in the Deputies Assembly: The majority's group leader, Liviu Muresan, was replaced by Deputy Alexandru Albu. This happened during the absence from the country of the national leader Petre Roman and three days before the National Convention.

[Andronic] Mr. Muresan, what happened exactly, and how did it happen? The discreet announcement made yesterday morning [14 March] mentions, among other things, that you were appointed as a member in the parliamentary group that will represent our country at the Council of Europe Parliament in Strasbourg....

[Muresan] The National Salvation Front [FSN] parliamentary group held a meeting on Wednesday evening [13 March] to elect a leader, as a result of the proposal made by an Initiative Committee that included 75 people.

[Andronic] Is this a usual practice, or was it part of a plan that proceeded the convention?

[Muresan] Not at all. In Western parties, the leader is usually appointed by the steering committee to ensure the application of the policy of the respective party within the parliamentary framework and to ensure a certain degree of discipline within the group.

[Andronic] Have you been warned about this move? Has such an action ever taken place so far?

[Muresan] I was not warned. The Initiative Committee claimed that it wants a leader who is elected and not imposed by the national leader.

[Andronic] You mean Petre Roman. Is he not also the leader of the FSN deputies? Since you had been appointed, why did they not act before?

[Muresan] No doubt, this is the result of a certain state of tension. I took this disagreeable task the moment when it was left by N.S. Dumitru and for a limited period of time, until the convention that had to take place in December...

[Andronic] Does this action represent a motion of no confidence in leaders?

[Muresan] I do not think so. Unfortunately, the state of crisis between the government and the Front were transferred to the parliamentary group. Although the Front's leaders—Claudiu Iordache, N.S. Dumitru, and Gheorghe Scortan—are members of this parliamentary group, they have not done anything to function as true leaders who are capable of ensuring a coherent line of action for the Front. The second crisis felt in the group was the tense relations between the government and the Parliament. This was a working tension that was increased by the insufficient presence in the "arena" of the minister in charge of relations with the Parliament to explain and support the government's initiatives. The tension was also increased by the ineffective manner in which the Council for Reform, Relations, and Public Information evaluated possible government reactions—which need to be more open—to the activity of the Parliament and of the group. The third crisis is the one that emerged within the Executive Bureau of the Deputies Assembly whose members representing the Front—Dan Martian, Ionel Roman, Bogdan Patrascu, Cazimir Ionescu, and Emil Stoica—have very different orientations and tendencies. An alienation has been created between them and the group, and the results of it can be seen now.

[Andronic] Can the incident be interpreted as a "party coup"?

[Muresan] It is more a proof of a parliamentary group's weakness, a group that did not find it necessary to resort to this action in the presence of the national leader. This shows a lack of courage to wait and accept the convention's decisions. This could be a natural process of clarification if it were not a case of the wrong time and the wrong way, as it was done. It is a signal, the meaning of which—positive or negative—will be possible to evaluate only after the convention. In my capacity as "leader of the majority who is in minority," I took steps to try to stop the group from becoming an obstacle in the path of the government's activity, until the time of the convention, which would have to organize this formation as a political party. Although I am aware of all these tensions, and I have to face their consequences, I have not given up. I continue to militate for the preservation of a certain balance.

[Andronic] What comes next? A resignation?

[Muresan] I am not one of those who gives up easily. I believe that I have to fight until the end for the ideas that made me join the Front. Likewise, I do not want to make political use of this incident. This is not a personal failure, it is only the point of view of a group about a quality and not about a person.

[Andronic] What now?

[Muresan] During the hours that are left until the convention, the two leaders who have led the Front to the 20 May success will have to make their choice between two variations. They were the ones who were filled with notoriety after the revolution, and they were the ones who unloaded this notoriety on the third character—the team in charge of the reform—that, I believe, is carrying out its activity honestly. We witness a weakening of credibility in their actions and in the options of this complex and difficult program, which, if abandoned now, would have unforeseeable consequences. It is certain that we need a firm government that cannot exist without the support of an appropriate party. Thus, the Front should become such a responsible government party and make sure that its actions are coherent and consistent and should be viewed as such by the electorate.

[Andronic] It seems that a break is coming up....

[Muresan] I cannot be sure of it. However, this is not a unique phenomenon. This can be seen in almost all our neighbors. There are changes and classifications caused by rapid economic transformations. The internal political arena will look completely different in only a few months and I believe that if we can talk about a danger, then this can be caused only by nationalism or populism.

North Atlantic Assembly Delegation Arrives

AU2403170591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 24 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/3/1991—A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly led by Charles Rose, president of the organisation, Democrat, member of the House of Representatives of U.S. Congress, arrived in Bucharest on Sunday [24 March] at the invitation of Romania's Parliament.

The guests were welcomed by Liviu Gherman, FSN [National Salvation Front] senator, vice-president of the Senate; Mircea Ionescu-Quintus, FSN deputy, deputy speaker of the Assembly of Deputies; by other members of Romanian Parliament.

Need Voiced for New International Economic Body

AU2103195391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1856 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/3/1991—Romania has reiterated its stand on the necessity to dismantle the CEMA at the recent Moscow session of the CEMA permanent representatives, stated in his weekly newsbriefing Foreign Ministry spokesman, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu. He said that the CEMA was an expression of economic, monetary and financial voluntarism, an instrument and a product of Europe's artificial division. The CEMA had been a structure that by its very underlying conception had cut East Europe's economies off the world commercial, monetary and financial flow. The Romanian Government, the spokesman mentioned,

speaks up for the setting up of a new organization of multilateral economic collaboration that should utterly differ from the CEMA. It should be a European subregional organization relying upon the market mechanism, capitalizing on the zonal economic advantages and assisting in the process of transition of the member countries to the market economy, facilitating their integration in Europe based on their alignment to the GATT rules, to the norms and standards tested in the activity of the European Economic Communities. According to the Romanian Government, the new organization should be accessible one way or another to other states as well.

Presidency Disowns Unauthorized Document

LD2503194191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—VJESNIK and some other public media on 24 March carried via HINA [Croatian News Agency] the text of a document that, in accordance with a conclusion of the SFRY Presidency, was prepared by an inter-republican and inter-provincial group of experts: A Joint Proposition for the Future Yugoslav Community. The media alleged that this was an integral TANJUG text being carried, except for the part referring to human rights and freedoms and security.

With a view to correcting public information, the SFRY Presidency information service asserts that the published text is not authentic, because it underwent numerous unauthorized changes and omissions.

This action of HINA and those public media that carried this text in an incorrect form represents a crude violation of rules governing the way of using internal documents; the public is being deceived by saying that the text was broadcast by TANJUG, which did not even receive it, and the whole fact is that the public is being confused.

According to previous reports, on the basis of a conclusion of the SFRY Presidency, the inter-republican and inter-provincial group of experts prepared a joint platform on the functions of the future Yugoslav community in the areas of the economy, defense, human rights, security, foreign policy, and international relations.

The SFRY presidency examined at its extended session joint economic functions; the public was informed about that through TANJUG with a statement from the SFRY Presidency session on 21 March, the explanation of the SFRY Presidency information service concludes.

Foreign Secretariat Views Current Issues

AU2203201391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 91 p 18

[Statement by Srdjan Kerim, the new official spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, at the Commission for Foreign Policy of the federal chamber of the SFRY Assembly, in Belgrade on 13 March]

[Text] Belgrade—The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs [SSIP] follows with great attention the exodus of the Albanian refugees. This is a very complex problem, and the Secretariat will deal with it in accordance with the conclusions made by the Federal Executive Council.

Answering a delegate's question about Albanian refugees, Kerim repeated the SSIP and FEC stand that the Montenegrin government urgently needs help, especially as the refugees in question are not solely of Serbian or Montenegrin origin.

Regarding the FEC conclusions, the Yugoslav Government believes that the problem should be solved in accordance with the international regulations, the CSCE, and the basic human rights.

A deputy from Macedonia asked a question regarding the declaration made by the Bulgarian Government and the statement by Boris Chakurov, representative of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was told that the declaration and the statement have been studied closely, and that the SSIP will soon issue an official statement about it. Nevertheless, Kerim stressed, it can already be said that the declaration and especially Chakurov's statement are not in accordance with the policy of good-neighborly relations.

Toward the end of February this year Chakurov, talking about Macedonia's sovereignty, was exclusively mentioning "Macedonian citizens," but not the Macedonian nation, or its sovereignty.

Greece, the other neighbor, does not always express goodwill for furthering relations with Yugoslavia, either. From the question posed by a deputy from Macedonia we learned that the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to accept a certain Yugoslav diplomat in the general consulate in Thessaloniki. Naturally, it is not hard to guess that the person in question is a Macedonian. Kerim said that the SSIP is gathering all facts in connection with this, and that it will soon officially evaluate this move made by Athens.

In the continuation of the session Zoran Popovic, Chief of the SSIP Commission for Nonaligned States, spoke to the deputies about Yugoslavia's activities as a presiding country of the Nonaligned Movement. He explained the development of activities since September 1989, emphasizing the transformations in the methodology of work of the nonaligned countries. The movement decided to favor dialogue and cooperation, and in this way significantly adjusted itself to the changes on the international scene, Popovic said. This is a process of modernization of the nonaligned activities, and setting a list of priorities that generally relate to economic development.

Jovic Meets With U.S. Delegation

LD2503170891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic today received a delegation of the U.S. Congress Commission for the CSCE, led by Senator Dennis DeConcini.

Senator DeConcini praised our country, particularly the SFRY Presidency, for the democratic changes now underway and for the implementation of free multiparty elections in all parts of Yugoslavia. He emphasized that these changes are of great importance for the well-being of all Yugoslav nations.

Replying to questions from Senator DeConcini and members of the delegation, President Jovic said, speaking about current developments in Yugoslavia, that the solution to the Yugoslav crisis has to be sought through democratic negotiations and in a constitutional way, including the right of each nation to freely decide on its own future.

President Jovic said that the Yugoslav People's Army, according to its constitutional position, is a part of our constitutional and legal order and our political system. In the present phase, the Army is primarily securing the effective, democratic, and legal search for the way out of the crisis and is the guarantor of peaceful conditions for this. Nobody proposed at any time that the armed forces should be used in Yugoslavia as a factor that would act outside the present democratic institutions or on the basis of some sectional interests.

President Jovic stressed that abroad, largely because of insufficient knowledge of the situation, there are unilateral interpretations of our development, and disregard is shown for the fact that Yugoslavia and all its republics plunged with resolve into the phase of deep democratic transformations, which facilitated progress in all spheres. Much remains to be done, however, regarding the development of democracy and implementation of human rights.

Senator DeConcini stressed that the United States is interested in the further improvement of human rights worldwide and that it wishes to cooperate in their improvement with all countries including Yugoslavia, because the two countries are bound to do this, according to the CSCE duties and goals.

In the course of the talks Senator DeConcini praised Yugoslavia for its contribution to the solution of the Gulf crisis. He expects that Yugoslavia will continue playing a constructive role in international relations.

Markovic Meets Delegation

LD2503173791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic met with a U.S. Congress CSCE Commission delegation headed by the commission's co-chairman, Senator Dennis DeConcini. The delegation is on a visit to Yugoslavia.

At the U.S. delegation's request the FEC president spoke in great detail about the current economic and political situation in Yugoslavia and ways to overcome the existing crisis. In particular he stressed the need to accept the FEC's 11-point program designed to facilitate the country's political and economic system function during the transitional period until a final agreement is reached on Yugoslavia's future system.

Markovic hopes that at the present juncture, which is vitally important for Yugoslavia, the United States will at both the bilateral level and in international financial institutions give its concrete support to the federal government's efforts to persevere with reforms and to ensure a peaceful and democratic solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

The U.S. delegation expressed concern at a halt in reforms in Yugoslavia caused by the unfavorable political situation. They expressed a readiness to press both the Congress and the U.S. Administration for greater understanding of and the necessary support for the federal government's reform program.

Croatia's Manolic on Sovereignty, Arms Sale

AU2203111691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic by unidentified NEPSZABADSAG editor; in Zagreb, on 19 March: "The Soldiers Should Stay in Their Barracks"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Josip Manolic granted our correspondent an interview on 19 March. (At the 1990 elections, the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] gained an absolute majority in the Croatian Assembly. The HDZ is currently the governing party in Croatia.)

[NEPSZABADSAG] Prime Minister, how much closer have you come to sovereignty in these last few days?

[Manolic] The new Croatian Constitution states in no uncertain terms that the country is opting for independence. This statement reflects an age-long struggle of the Croatian people. So, the Croatian state is independent, and nobody can limit its rights. The events that are taking place in Belgrade only serve to strengthen my belief in this domain. This is the first time that the democratic Serbian opposition braves communism. Regardless of what happens, we do not expect the opposition to be able to solve the nationalities issue. The emergence of this opposition facilitates the solving of Yugoslavia's crisis. Indeed, the only possible solution is to respect the independence of the existing republics.

[NEPSZABADSAG] So Croatia would also take the risk of becoming an independent state?

[Manolic] Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia have all opted for that solution. If changes are initiated in Serbia as well, nothing will stand in the way of a transformation.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Things will not necessarily be that simple. Rumor has it that barracks are in the highest state of combat readiness. Is that true?

[Manolic] It was Jovic's intention to introduce a state of emergency, but he failed. In the end, this also implied a defeat for the military leadership that wanted to implement its ideas in Yugoslavia with the use of force. It is

true that there was a total state of combat readiness, and the soldiers were waiting for a command to bring in their weapons.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You mobilized Interior Ministry reservists. Who are these reservists?

[Manolic] Such reserve militias also existed in the past. If necessary, a certain generation, which has not completed its military service, can be used to maintain public order and safety. In other words, these are not conscripts. I know, however, that you are interested in the Kalashnikovs.

[NEPSZABADSAG] I do not deny that.

[Manolic] We had to arm our militia because the Army represented a permanent danger for us. The Army collected all the weapons that were in the hands of the militia. We had no other choice but to defend ourselves against the Army's efforts in this way. It is true that we purchased arms from several countries, but people talked mostly about Hungary because Yugoslav Army agents had infiltrated the ranks of the Hungarian Army.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Can you see any guarantees that there will be no armed conflict in the foreseeable future?

[Manolic] I am an optimist. I am confident that we will be able to solve our problems without the use of force. The most important thing is for the Army to withdraw from politics.

Milosevic, Tudjman Discuss Crisis Issues

LD2503185491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1823 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—On the eve of the forthcoming meeting of six presidents of Yugoslav republics that will be held this week, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman have met at the border between the two republics.

In a talk that lasted several hours and that referred to the key questions of the political and economic crisis and future relations within Yugoslavia, the presidents examined major issues to be raised at the forthcoming meeting of republican presidents.

Despite widely known differences on fundamental issues regarding the interests of the republics of Serbia and Croatia, and bearing in mind that relations between Serbia and Croatia (i.e. the Serbian and the Croatian people) are of key importance for overall relations [within Yugoslavia] and also for the solution of the state and political crisis, the talk was held with a view to: eliminating options threatening the overall interests of either the Serbian or Croatian people and searching for permanent solutions with full respect for the historic interests of the people; establishing the time frame in which current Yugoslav problems will be solved within two months at a maximum, which will be officially proposed at the forthcoming meeting between the republican presidents; and examining, in conditions of mounting economic problems, solutions and proposals such as the proposal of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber on the changes in the work and the composition of the Federal Executive Council in the transitory period, which is presented in the interest of protecting the country from economic collapse.

Serbs in Slavonia Want To Secede From Croatia

AU2503212391 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 91 p 9

[D. Dragicevic report: "The Time To Leave Croatia Has Come"]

[Text] Vinkovici, 18 March—The Serbian National Council for Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem at today's meeting decided to start preparations for the secession of Serbian towns in Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem from the present administrative system of the Republic of Croatia. As stated, this decision is based on two crucial points. First, the life of Serbs in this part of Croatia has become unbearable and hopeless because of constant threats and pressure, and because the constitution does not recognize the basic rights of the Serbian nation in Croatia. The Serbs are not even safe here, and because of the discrimination in employment, they have nothing on which to live. Furthermore, the Serbs in this part of Croatia have reached such a level of homogeneity that they are in a good position to accomplish their historic objectives.

The Serbian National Council for Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem today supported the secession of Krajina from Croatia, which obviously does not want to be a homeland to Serbs as much as to Croats.

They supported the measures of the Republic of Serbia that are meant to protect the Serbian nation within the present administrative borders of Serbia as well as outside them. In doing so they especially appreciated Serbia's determination to create additional forces for their own protection. They also supported the resignation of Borisav Jovic from the post of the president of the SFRY Presidency and the withdrawal of Jugoslav Kostic and Nenad Bucin from the Presidency.

The Serbian National Council for Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem is appealing to all political parties in Serbia, and to the Socialist Party of Serbia, the Democratic Party, and the Serbian Renaissance Movement in particular, to join forces in removing all obstacles to the vitally important harmony.

Knin Serbs Criticize Slavonia Serbs

AU2303200591 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 91 p 17

[S. Stamatovic report: "Only Babic Understands Negotiations"]

[Excerpts] Knin—The talks between the five-member delegation of the Regional Committee of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] for Slavonia and Baranja with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman about the current issues concerning the position of Serbs in Croatia is hardly being commented on here by the inhabitants of the Knin region, especially because the talks were not attended by the representatives of the SDS of Knin and the Serbian National Council. This was stated here by several people.

We were interested in what the SDS officials and the Serbian National Council from Knin had to say about the talks in Zagreb. Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Serbian National Council and the Knin Assembly, said:

"Within the administrative borders of the Republic of Croatia as determined by the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], there are ethnic, historically Serbian territories in which Serbs constitute a majority. There are also ethnic, historically Croat territories in which Serbs are in the minority, and thus the problem of the national equality of Serbian people living in isolation and under the hegemony of the Croatian leadership should be resolved in two ways. The SDS is trying with its program to resolve the national equality of all Serbs who live within the administrative borders of the Republic of Croatia," Babic says.

This Group Is Dividing the SDS

Following the Serbian people's decision, which was reached in a referendum, to establish an autonomous region, Serbs have founded the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and clearly stated that this region must remain within Yugoslavia's borders. Relations between Krajina and the Republic of Croatia, after the dissociation takes place, must be resolved through talks and agreements between the representatives of Krajina and Croatia. Wherever Serbs live as a minority population, it is necessary to hold a dialogue and insist on the national equality of those Serbs. It is a well-known fact that a fair number of Serbs live in Slavonia as a minority and their position must be resolved through a dialogue with the Croatian authorities. In this sense I understand the talks that the delegation from Slavonia and Baranja held with Franjo Tudjman. In Slavonia, however, there are also areas in which Serbs are the majority population, areas that will most certainly become a part of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina," Babic said.

Professor Lazar Macura, vice president of the Knin Assembly and member of the SDS of Knin, said the following:

"The delegation from Slavonia and Baranja does not have the authority to hold negotiations, especially because Professor Vojislav Vukcevic has been expelled from the SDS of Beli Manastir. This is in fact the group which, prior to the elections in Serbia, divided the SDS of Croatia into those from Knin and others. Even the Ljubljana SDS visited Knin at the time so we could get a few more votes. The delegation that went to Zagreb cannot represent the SDS. I am in favor of talks and dialogue, but only between the Serbian National Council and the Croatian government.

We Do Not Accept Cultural Autonomy

Marko Dobrijevic, secretary for the organization of the SDS:

"The departure of the self-appointed delegation for Slavonia and Baranja to Zagreb to hold talks with Franjo Tudjman cannot be called anything but treason against Serbian people. The activities of this group have been known for some time. This is the same group that carried out an attack on the Main Committee in Donji Lapac. Its destructive activities in the SDS have been felt for some months. This group does not have the authority of the people from the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, and in talks with Franjo Tudjman, this group represented only itself," Dobrijevic said. [passage omitted]

Croatia Asks Serbia To Scrap Protectionist Laws

AU2503180691 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Mar 91 p 4

[S. Vranic report: "Call for an Economic Exchange"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—Croatian Vice Prime Minister Franjo Greguric has sent a letter to Serbian Vice Prime Minister Nikola Stanic, in which he proposes a suspension of the adopted prohibitive measures that hinder economic and trade relations between these two republics.

In his letter, in which he acts on behalf of the Croatian government, Greguric reminds his colleague that he had expected the recently elected Serbian government to scrap the deposit, taxes, the special turnover tax on goods and services, and other prohibitive measures implemented against partners and goods from Croatia. The Croatian government therefore did not react immediately by introducing reciprocal measures, and after it had nevertheless adopted such measures, it postponed their implementation in the hope that the Serbia would suspend its decisions that had disrupted the economic relations between the two republics. He also recalls the agreement among all the government representatives of the republics and provinces, which was reached in the Federal Executive Council at the end of February, in which the Croatian side proposed that problems be resolved through a mutual agreement. [passage omitted]

Greguric recalls the harm that the measures may have on the further segmentation of the Yugoslav market, while this harm is even reflected in Yugoslavia's increasing isolation from international economic institutions. Stressing that Croatia proceeds based on the principle of an open common market; the full freedom to exchange goods and services; and the equality of all enterprises in business operations, regardless of where their headquarters are, Greguric appealed to Stanic to ensure that reason prevails and the frozen economic relations thaw.

so enterprises in both republics can do business among themselves unhindered. He also adds that Croatia has suitable instruments with which to respond to a threat to its own economic interests, but its wish is not to be put into the kind of situation that would warrant their use. Apart from the proposal to suspend the adopted prohibitive measures, Greguric also stresses Croatia's willingness to establish its own economic representations with Serbia.

Croat Daily Views Effects of Belgrade Protests

AU2203135491 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 91 p 3

[Miroslav Ivic commentary: "Knez Mihajlova Street Instead of Ilica"]

[Text] The statement made by general Blagoje Adzic at the beginning of the Knin log revolution [alluding to the logs used to block roads in Knin region] that the Army will react if only one Serbian head falls proved to be true. The head has fallen and the Army has reacted. The only "fallacy" lies in the fact that the Serbian head did not fall in Knin, Petrinja, or Pakrac—thanks to the patience of the Croatian authorities and a high degree of conscience of the Croatian nation—as Adzic assumed and some individuals and sources close to him were planning and publicly announcing.

Kosovo Habits

The Belgrade confrontation between the opposition and the Serbian authorities, in which the police displayed all kinds of weaponry for which, of course, no one asked, or will ask the Serbs when and where they bought it, or whether it was made at home or abroad, unfortunately resulted in the loss of two human lives. This must have been learned in Kosovo where in the last couple of years dozens of human lives were lost in demonstrations, and not only in them. Just as Kosovo's demands for the resignation of Morina, Shukrija, and Azemi resulted in the miners' strike, and after that in the police repression during which several lives were lost, so did the Belgrade opposition's demand for few resignations in the media result in unprecedented clashes between the crowd and the police, and there were casualties.

Everything that the Croatian leadership did in the past seven months and the way it has pulled itself through them without using force or falling into all sorts of traps seems even more precious from today's point of view after the bloody Saturday in Belgrade. The Croatian leadership did not react with force even when at the peak of the tourist season the roads were blocked, railway tracks blown up, weapons seized from the police stations, when the rebellious militant Serbs were throwing explosives at the Croatian people's shops and homes, when the policemen were shot at and killed.... Even at the price of being called indecisive and yielding at the most difficult moments this leadership opted for discussions, preferred dialogue to weapons, and was stressing the need for respecting legal provisions in place of repression. Led by the philosophy "God exists" as opposed to the philosophy of the Serbian leadership "We are Gods," the Croatian leadership has so far avoided all dangers of reacting against masses with force. Indeed, only by extremely wise and patient politics that is in no way arrogant, daring or haughty, only by making the moves that are guided by the principle that politics is "know your limits," and in which the final goal is what counts, in this case the sovereign, free, and democratic Croatia, was it possible to move through a maze of traps. Despite the blatant insults, open attacks, and disdain, this leadership preserved the image of a democratic leadership that now, regardless of what happened in the past, can say that no person has been wounded or killed by the bullet of the Croatian police force.

Sobering up

The Belgrade Saturday will hopefully mean the sobering up of those Serbs in Croatia, like the Knin communal leadership, who saw everything in Milosevic and tied its future to him. This Serbian politician, who wished to see tanks on Ilica, but then called them so easily to Knez Mihajlova street, would not be afraid to send them to the streets of Knin, Benkovac, and Banija, if this would mean that the power and the positions achieved by the communist great-Serbian oligarchy would be preserved. Such policy is no solution for the Serbs in Croatia, especially not in the situation when Serbs and all other people in Croatia are given a chance to personally contribute toward the development of the democratic and free Croatia.

Serbian Deputy Dzodan Returns to Assembly

LD2103135891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0904 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Petar Dzodan, a Party of Democratic Changes [Stranka Demokratski Promjena] deputy from Daruvar in the Socio-Political Chamber of the Croatian Assembly, today again took his seat on the Assembly benches.

He is one of about 20 deputies of Serbian nationality who at the end of last year decided to boycott the Croatian Assembly proceedings and work.

Dzodan returned to the benches in response to an appeal by the regional committee for Slavonija and Baranja of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Democratska Stranka] to the deputies of Serbian nationality to end their boycott.

New Croatian Chamber of Municipalities President

LD2103150791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 21 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Deputies of the Chamber of Municipalities of the Croatian Assembly today elected Luka Bebic from the town of Metkovic as president of the chamber. The president of the Chamber of Municipalities until now, Slavko Degoricija, was

relieved from the post because he was appointed Croatian deputy minister for internal affairs at the beginning of the month. [passage omitted]

Zelenovic Addresses Serbian Assembly

AU2203151191 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 91 p 11

[S. Kljakic, I. Anojcic, T. Vujic, and B. Radivojsa report on the speech by Serbian Goverenment President Dragutin Zelenovic at the Serbian Assembly session on 12 March: "Let's Be Reasonable, Brother Deputies"]

[Text] At the beginning of his expose Dragutin Zelenovic recalled a message from the poem "Gorski Vijenac" which says: "Let's be reasonable Montenegrin brothers."

"During the last few years the Republic of Serbia has been building its position and the position of the Serbian nation, as well as all citizens of the republic, but also of Serbs living outside Serbia, in a very systematic, steady, and dignified manner. In such a way as not to affect the interests of other nations in Yugoslavia," Zelenovic said, adding this is a permanent task.

"We were hoping to accomplish, in the coming months, the previously set goal determined by the tenet that Serbs should live in one state, and thus, if this state is Yugoslavia, to live in Yugoslavia, but if this is not possible, then to live in Serbia.

"Unfortunately," Zelenovic continued, " after the Belgrade events, which are a demonstration of imprudent, frightening, and uncivilized actions, we face the problem that endangers efforts to accomplish the established objectives made over several years.

"This problem is now emerging among the Serbs in Knin, Pakrac, Stoc [as published], Glina, Vukovar, and other towns," Zelenovic said.

"Lately, we keep receiving demands, telegrams, and telephone calls that express fear, hopelessness, people's despair, and the fear that the worst will repeat itself.

"With the emergency measures we prevented incursions into Serbian towns outside Serbia," Zelenovic observed.

"It has been stated here during the previous discussions that some people's deputies have had enough of the reports about the hostile attacks on Serbia from outside Serbia, and on Yugoslavia from outside Yugoslavia. I do not believe that those people really believed what they said. On the contrary, it is perfectly obvious even to less educated people that this really is the case," Zelenovic warned.

Speaking about the yesterday's statement by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic, Zelenovic continued:

"The president of the Republic of Serbia in his speech yesterday to the National Assembly with chosen words that leave no place for ambiguity pointed out the misfortune that was caused by the events in Belgrade, and the consequences we will have to suffer, but also the possibility of overcoming the situation. Unfortunately, I can already talk about the consequences that resulted in the canceling of the nearly signed contracts with certain countries and companies all together worth one billion dollars, not to mention the human victims and the destruction that Belgrade went through.

It is necessary," Zelenovic continued, "to prevent the war between the ruling party and the opposition, verbal wars that are terrible but actually do not mean anything, and to concentrate on the development of Serbia, the interests of Serbian peoples in Serbia and outside it, and move forward toward the accomplishment of the basic goal—to increase to quality of people's lives.

"The National Assembly must give us a break, and so must the citizens on the street," Zelenovic observed, "so we can continue with the necessary work on accomplishing our goals, because the only true interest of the nation that has elected us is the one I have spoken about. Therefore, at the end I would like to conclude with the message: Let us be reasonable, brother deputies," Zelenovic said.

By publication time, the National Assembly's session has not finished yet.

Opposition Wants Zelenovic Dismissal

AU2303171391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 91 p 6

[Text] Belgrade—We propose that you start a procedure to replace Dragutin Zelenovic as president of the Serbian government. This is stated in a letter that Kosta Cavoski and Vladan A. Vasiljevic sent to Serbian Assembly President Slobodan Unkovic. Among other things, the letter states:

"On 12 March 1991, Dragutin Zelenovic addressed the Serbian Assembly and people's deputies as president of the Serbian government. On that occasion, trying to counter the dissatisfaction of the opposition's deputies and once again secure at any price support for the unsuccessful policy that is being conducted by the Serbian president, the [Serbian] Assembly, and the Serbian government, he presented, among other things, false information about the imperilment of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"According to the arbitrary claims made by Zelenovic, events in Belgrade and Serbia hinder successful protection of Serbs living in other parts of Yugoslavia. For this reason, as Zelenovic explicitly stated, the raids on Knin, Glina, Stolac, and some other places on the night of 11 March were prevented at the last minute. He did not offer any evidence to substantiate this claim, nor has he offered any evidence up to now.

"There is no question that Serbia and its officials must fulfill their constitutionally determined obligations to care for members of the Serbian nation living outside the Republic of Serbia. It is also clear that this must not be done by causing or stirring up national hatred, divisions, and intolerance. The essence of Zelenovic's message is clear. By stressing the growing danger for the security of Serbs in other regions that are not parts of the Republic of Serbia, he is inciting hatred and intolerance among Serbs in the republic, and among other Serbs, toward other peoples in Yugoslavia.

"In doing so, he has abused his position as president of the Serbian government. At the same time, his speech has far reaching consequences, considering the general situation in Yugoslavia and the persistent efforts of some politicians to irresponsibly put force before rational and sensible talks about the necessary new organization of the country."

Draskovic Comments on Imprisonment, Plans

AU2203212691 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 91 p 9

["Exclusive" interview with Serbian Renaissance Movement President Vuk Draskovic by unidentified reporter on 13 March; place not given: "Charge To Defend Freedom"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [BORBA] How were you treated in prison?

[Draskovic] Very properly. Regarding the tear gas bombs at the protest, I do not know everything that happened there, but I think there were some poison gases, too. Immediately after my arrest, I started to vomit, choke, and have muscle spasms, and I became unconscious. A doctor and cardiological team came and ordered that I be taken to the hospital. I refused, and I also refused medicines. I wanted to show them that they can only take away my life and thus, contribute to their own downfall.

They then immediately took me to the Central Prison. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] What was the attitude of the prison staff and guards toward you?

[Draskovic] Very proper. "Mr. Draskovic, it is time for breakfast. Mr. Draskovic, it is time for your medicine. Lunch, Mr. Draskovic. Excuse me, you have a visitor."

That was with me, but the other conditions in the prison... these are conditions for neither man nor beast. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] Were you often interviewed by the investigator?

[Draskovic] Only once when the investigating judge came, despite opposition from the prosecutor, to hand me the order on ending my detention. [passage omitted]

[BORBA] What will the Serbian Renaissance Movement do now?

[Draskovic] An order was given on 9 March in Belgrade for children to be shot at. The person who gave this order will answer for it, at some point. There is no peace in Serbia until this person falls. We will also investigate who sent in tanks and the Army to deal with children. The newspapers say it was the Serbian leadership. This leadership probably has names. I have already said that in 1968, Broz killed no one and did not send tanks to deal with demonstrators. Someone must be held responsible for this action.

Apart from that, the person who gave all these orders cannot for one single minute more represent the Serbian people. Therefore, the task of the Serbian Renaissance Movement will be to fight with legislative and nonlegislative means so those responsible for the massacre of the Serbian people and the organizers of the Usce rally of fratricide, hatred, and a call to civil war submit their resignations and be held criminally responsible.

Views Milosevic, Army, New Elections

AU2403194391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 91 p 6

[I. Radovanovic report on news conference by SPO President Vuk Draskovic in Belgrade; date not given]

[Text] Belgrade—The deputies of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] will probably boycott the work of the National Assembly. This party advocates a Yugoslavia in any form (federation, confederation, asymmetric federation). [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic must submit his resignation. There is little chance of Army intervention in Yugoslavia. The united opposition cannot yet completely agree about the demand for new elections. The secession of the Knin region happened at the wrong time....

These are the most interesting details of the replies that SPO President Vuk Draskovic gave yesterday to the myriad of questions presented to him by foreign and domestic journalists at a news conference at the Teaching Academy.

Explaining the whole news conference with the fact that since his release from prison he had given more than 70 interviews and statements and that the "deluge" was still great, Draskovic "used" most of the news conference to reply to questions about Milosevic, the Army, and Yugoslavia's further fate.

The opposition will call Milosevic to account at the 27 March meeting, Draskovic said, because he is "the greatest culprit in the tragedy that happened on 9 March. He is also guilty because he tried through one private announcement to break up Yugoslavia, provoke a civil war, and separate Serbia from Yugoslavia."

The SPO leader stressed that Milosevic is not the representative of the majority of the Serbian people and,

regarding Jovic's, Bucin's, and Kostic's resignations (in a "package" with Milosevic's statement), he said that this was the "final attempt by the past to halt the future" and that until 9 March, Milosevic was convinced that he was the "father of the nation."

After 9 March, having realized that he is not this, Milosevic, with the help of Jovic, Bucin, and Kostic, tried to cause even greater chaos in Yugoslavia.

The SPO deputies, Draskovic said, had received his recommendation that they boycott the work of the Serbian Assembly until he and Milenko Radic, the legal adviser to the SPO's deputies, were allowed to attend and follow the work of the legislature.

Most officers are young educated people and are devoted to democracy. Only a small group of old people, orthodox Bolsheviks, have the crazy idea of attaching Stalinist-type mustaches to Yugoslavia, the SPO leader said, explaining his claim that he does not believe in a military coup.

Draskovic also believes that Yugoslavia will not disappear without misfortune, war, and blood, and therefore, as he claims, he advocates any kind of Yugoslavia, but Yugoslavia nonetheless. In this respect, he is convinced that most people share his view and are against the kind of stupidity that is war.

Having stressed that he only supports the secession of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina from Croatia if Croatia secedes from Yugoslavia, Draskovic recalled that this is not now the case and therefore, in his opinion, the Krajina's secession has happened at the wrong time, despite the tragic memories that the Serbs in Croatia have of the independent state of Croatia. "I am in favor of the representatives of the Serbs in Croatia and the Croatian authorities sitting around a negotiating table and reaching agreement."

Advocating new elections in Serbia, Draskovic stressed that the united opposition still has no definite stand on this issue because some of its members do not want further tension with the Communists. Draskovic explained that he also supports elections being repeated in the other federal units and then new negotiations on the destiny of the whole country.

In his opinion, the socialists are "illegally" in power in Serbia and the SPO will do its utmost to force them to finally "realize" this.

Regarding Milosevic's refusal to recognize the Presidency and then the announcement immediately afterwards of participation in the Presidency's work, he said in brief: "Any primary school teacher would have thrown him out of class for behaving in such a way."

Socialist Party Cancels 27 March Rally

LD2503150391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 25 (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia will not organize any rally or concert in Belgrade's central Terazije Square on March 27, as Serbia's ruling party executive committee and the party committee for Belgrade announced today.

The ruling party of Serbia had announced on February 20 that it would observe the 50th anniversary of the demonstrations staged in Belgrade and other parts of the country on March 27, 1941 in protest against the joining of the tripartite axis by Yugoslavia.

The [word indistinct] Serbian opposition has also scheduled to hold a rally on March 27 in Republic Square, located only several hundred meters away from Terazije Square.

The statement released by the Socialist Party of Serbia states that the Socialist Party has decided against organizing any partisan manifestations or similar gatherings on March 27 in response to the numerous public appeals and demands—including those coming from students and other youths, intellectuals and other prominent public figures—and the appeal of the forum of the Terazije parliament, founded after the four-day student demonstrations in Terazije Square in mid-March.

"We feel that the date belongs to all citizens of Serbia and that no party can list it among its own achievements," the Socialist Party of Serbia set out. Addressing the citizens and parties in Belgrade and the rest of Serbia, the Socialist Party stresses in the statement, "let us together and in a dignified manner" observ "this important date in our national history."

Socialists Condemn Opposition at Usce Rally

AU2203194491 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 91 p 16

[Letter by the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia to the Serbian Assembly: "The Unity of Serbian Nation Is Necessary for Overcoming the Existing Situation"]

[Text] The Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has addressed a letter to the Serbian Assembly in which it states:

"Esteemed national deputies:

"At the mass meeting that was held under the slogan "For the defense of the Republic, for constitutionality, freedom, and democracy" in Usce Park in Belgrade on 11 March 1991, and which was organized by the Socialist Party of Serbia, the following views and demands were voiced:

"1. The citizens of Serbia and Belgrade most vehemently condemn the demonstrations and riots that took place

on 9 March in Belgrade and that were organized by the Serbian Renaissanc Movement and some other opposition parties.

"The citizens want the organizer of these demonstrations to be held responsible for all its consequences, and especially for the loss of human lives and enormous material damage that Belgrade suffered.

"At the same time the citizens demand that according to the rule of law the authorities take all legal measures against the organizers of these demonstrations.

"2. The citizens most vehemently support the legitimately elected authorities: the National Assembly, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and the newly elected government.

The citizens demand that the authorities ensure peace, a free life, and work in Belgrade and throughout the Republic.

"3. The citizens stress that it is necessary that all social, political, economic and other issues, ranging from the cadre issue to the strategic political tenets, be resolved through the legal institutions of the authority of the law governed state. The citizens in no way accept the resolution of these problems outside the institutions of the constitutional system.

"4. At the meeting the citizens condemned the misuse of youth for political purposes. Therefore, they demand the accountability of those who take children from the classrooms to the streets to achieve political goals.

"5. At the meeting the citizens called for the necessary harmony and unity of the Serbian nation and the citizens of Serbia, as this is the basic condition for overcoming the current situation and for resolving all problems."

The letter was in the name of the meeting's organizer signed by Petar Skundric, general secretary of the Main Committee of the SPS.

DS Will Participate in 27 March Protest

LD2503183191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Mar (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka—DS] will take part in peaceful demonstrations to be held on 27 March, the DS main committee decided today. A statement issued today, signed by DS President Dragoljub Micunovic, stresses that in this way the DS will join in marking an important event in the history of the Serbian nation. By taking part in the demonstrations the DS will reiterate its adherence to the democratic tradition that considers all, including legislative and non-legislative, forms of struggle for democracy as important for establishing a democratic system in Serbia, the statement adds in conclusion.

Serbian Police Reserve Given Live Ammunition

AU2503201791 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 91 p 12

[M. S. report]

[Text] As we have unofficially learned, the reserve police forces were mobilized on the same night that SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic informed the Yugoslav public that he was resigning. On Friday night the political leadership of the Republic met in the building of the Serbian Presidency and by 0400 in the morning and members of the reserve forces were summoned. As we already know, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic announced his order on mobilization on Belgrade Television at about 1630 on Saturday afternoon.

From the moment they were mobilized the reserve forces arrived in the police station as if this was their regular employment and are working in shifts. We learned they were given weapons—police batons, pistols, and live ammunition. They go home and return to work fully armed—that means with live ammunition.

Unofficially, we also learned that the reserve forces were summoned on 9 March at about 1600 in the afternoon, and that they were given weapons, but no live ammunition.

Slovenia's Peterle on Independence Issue

LD2503214591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1641 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Text] Vienna, March 25 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's Prime Minister Lojze Peterle said Monday that this Yugoslav republic is for dialogue and agreed dissociation from Yugoslavia, and that it would seceed immediately only "in case of acts of violence in the country."

The precondition for Slovenia to become a part of a future Yugoslav confederation is for it to become a sovereign state, i.e. a subject of international law, Peterle told a press conference in Vienna.

Peterle, who is visiting the mayor of Vienna and taking part in the "Round Table of Europe," recalled that Slovenia, in keeping with the decisions by its parliament and on the basis of results of a referendum held late last year, would realize its independence by late June.

According to Peterle, "a state of emergency practically exists" in Yugoslavia, because "the Yugoslav Army has assumed the role of the main interpreter of the constitution, of someone who negates the stands of the Yugoslav state presidency or mediates in inter-ethnic and inter-party debates."

The Slovenian prime minister added that it is good that the Yugoslav Army did not make use of the "empty space" to act directly on the political scene.

Four Slovene Parties Form Left-Wing Coalition

AU2203200091 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] The presidents of four Slovene parties have agreed to set up the kind of programmatic coalition of a so-called wider left-wing scope that has been lacking in Slovenia. The partners are the Socialist Democratic Union, the Workers Party, the Christian Socialists, and the Social-Democratic faction in the Party of Reformists, which has the role of initiator of the joint project. [Atanasijevic] Two important reasons influenced the establishment of a new Slovene party coalition of the left. The first, as its partners explained, was the fact that the present regime in the republic has heaped the main burden of the economic crisis onto the disenfranchised and oppressed workers and citizens who will bear the whole burden of the return of capitalism and neocolonialist exploitation.

The second reason lies in the fact that the Slovene legislature has turned into the [word indistinct] for the compromising opposition that has not achieved its formulated strategy for the protection of the rights and interests of the great majority of workers and working people, who are sinking toward the depths of poverty.

Representatives of the new left-wing coalition said today that they have planned for the creation of the kind of industrial democracy of securing workers rights, self-administration, participation, and other achievements, that the left wing has accomplished in the developed countries of the West.

(?Balizic) and Ciric from the Social-Democratic faction of the reformists said that the parties of the new coalition that already have deputies in the republican assembly will set up their own deputies' club and immediately begin to operate in line with the directives of the left-wing program. They added that the coalition intends to attract another two or three parties to its ranks by the end of the year and with them set up a wide pre-election coalition that they believe will have great support at the next parliamentary elections in Slovenia from workers, pensioners, and the mass of citizens whose existence has been jeopardized.

Albanian Leader in Kosovo on Ethnic Tensions

AU2603101291 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 26 Mar 91

[Alfred Schwarz report on interview with Democratic Union of Kosovo Chairman Ibrahim Rugova in Vienna on 25 March]

[Text] The three million Albanians are the third-largest ethnic group in Yugoslavia after the Serbs and Croats, Ibrahim Rugova stated. Nonetheless, they are treated like a leprous minority by the 200,000 Serbs in Kosovo. All leading positions are held by Serbs. Albanians are systematically driven from their offices. The police, dominated by Serbs, is omnipresent and nips every Albanian resistance in the bud. He himself was also attacked three weeks ago. He did not want to elaborate, however. The Albanians in Yugoslavia are the ones who suffer most from Yugoslavia's disintegration, Rugova stressed. The current tensions with Croatia and Slovenia make the Serbs even more aggressive. The Albanians are most affected by this.

[Begin Rugova recording] The Serbs have always been aggressive and have now become even more aggressive in view of Yugoslavia's disintegration. We Albanians fear a massacre by the Serbs among our ethnic group. [end recording]

Rugova foresees a dramatic future. If the voices of the Albanians should not be heard in the event of Yugoslavia's collapse, the Albanians would try to find their own way.

[Begin Rugova recording] If Yugoslavia should disintegrate and if none of the Albanian demands should be fulfilled, the Albanians will seek a different kind of integration—together with all Albanians. I know that questions concerning the borders in Europe are very sensitive, particularly in the Balkans. [end recording]

Asked whether he considers a union with a communist Albania possible, Rugova stated:

[Begin Rugova recording] According to our information and given the actual state of affairs in Albania, the democratic forces will win the elections on 31 March, if there are no manipulations on the part of the communists. [end recording]

Rugova does not trust the current peace in Belgrade. The recurring state crises are a game typical of Yugoslavia. New balances result from these games. One thing, however, is clear for Rugova: Efforts aimed at excluding the Albanians from talks on Yugoslavia's future would be doomed to failure. The Albanians claim that a future Yugoslavia, in whatever form, is not conceivable without their right of co-determination, Rugova pointed out.

Democratic Alliance Insists on Voice in Talks

LD2203230891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1137 GMT 22 Mar 91

[Statement by Democratic Alliance of Kosovo representative Dr. Fehmi Agani in Pristina on 22 March]

[Text] Pristina, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—We insist on our right and duty to be adequately and qualitatively represented in talks on the political future of Yugoslavia. We are not concerned about the balance of numbers and forces in the Presidency of Yugoslavia. We want to participate in these talks and we want Albanians and Kosovo to be treated equally. If we do not become equal

collocutors, we will not be bound by any agreements or settlements on the future Yugoslavia.

Clarifying his statement to journalists about no obligation, Agani said that the Albanians will behave toward Yugoslavia as Yugoslavia behaves toward them.

"We want to be included in talks on Yugoslavia and to contribute to the democratic solution of the crisis. Certain obligations can be imposed on us perhaps for a time, but we will get rid of them sometime or another." Asked how, Agani answered: "in a way that will be determined by the situation".

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo does not consider Sejdo Bajramovic and Vukasin Jokanovic to be representatives of Kosovo in the above-mentioned agreements. Sejdo Bajramovic's election as member of the SFRY Presidency was described by Agani as a scandalous act that shows that Serbian politics is reverting to Pasic's methods of seeking friends among those Albanians who epitomize betrayal of their people.

A protest was also made about the abolition of the Kosovo presidency and especially about the introduction of new temporary measures in Kosovo firms, particularly the 'Rilindja' printing works; indicating the desire to restrict the printing of texts in the Albanian language.

Bosnia's Izetbegovic Comments on Libyan Aid

AU2503222191 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 25 Mar 91

[Interview with Bosnia President Alija Izetbegovic by moderator Robert Hochner in the ORF TV studio in Vienna—live; Izetbegovic answers in Serbo-Croat, with passage-by-passage translation into German]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Hochner] Mr. President, you caused a sensation recently. You visited Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi and received a major sum of money—reportedly $500,000—in aid. You are the only Muslim in Yugoslavia's leadership. Is it a problem to accept money from somebody whom many Western countries consider one of the financiers of terrorism?

[Izetbegovic] Libya owes my country quite a large sum. It has to pay for a number of works that were carried out there. We in Yugoslavia are in a very difficult situation, and we need the money urgently. I have succeeded in recovering part of the debt,$50,000. The sum is a loan for goods that are to be exported ["von"—either "by" or "from"] Yugoslavia and will yield a profit. We have a very precarious problem. Several thousand workers in Bosnia are jobless, and the situation of the miners is also very difficult. That is why we totally depend on a financial injection.

[Hochner] Mr. President, thank you very much for having come to the studio and thank you for the interview.

Bosnian Serb Leader Views Belgrade Protests

AU2303175391 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Mar 91 p 5

[D. Pusonjic report: "Bogicevic Did Not Resign?"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo—The news from HINA [Croatian News Agency] that Bogic Bogicevic had resigned from the SFRY Presidency was neither expressly denied or confirmed by the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina yesterday, but party president Radovan Karadzic announced that "he thought Bogicevic had not resigned."

This republic's representative in the federal Presidency will be changed in May when Bogicevic will be replaced by a Serb from the Serbian Democratic Party and half a year later he will be replaced by a Muslim. This was the agreement among the ruling national bloc, Karadzic explained, and added that he does not deny "Bogicevic is a Serb, but Bogicevic does not belong to the party that represents the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party presented a concept according to which the Presidency of a future federal state would have one permanent position for a Muslim and another permanent and interchangeable position for Serbs and Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

As Karadzic explained, "Slobodan Milosevic was not challenged at all" in the Belgrade protests, but a part of the policy of the Socialist Party of Serbia was challenged in relation to editorial policy in the media, which was the weakest link in the system that was maintained by "rigid people." Karadzic foresaw similar events, that is to say, editorial replacements—but without demonstrations—in other parts of Yugoslavia, too. In this context he mentioned Sarajevo Television Director Nenad Pejic, who extended support to the participants in the Belgrade protest and stated: "Pejic will regret that he supported what he supported in the way that he supported it!"

Regarding the statement by Dragutin Zelenovic, president of the Serbian government, that had they had serious problems, they would not have prevented attacks on Serbian communes outside Serbia, Karadzic said: "there are some reports that there was a danger of attacks on some communes in Croatia" and that Zelenovic had mentioned Stolac (Bosnia-Hercegovina) only as a place in which the Serbs from Metkovic could have taken refuge.

Commenting on the meeting between a delegation of the Serbian Democratic Party of Slavonija and [Croatian President] Franjo Tudjman, Karadzic said that he did not know whether this delegation had the authorization of the "entire Serbian Democratic Party of Slavonija" and that it should have waited for the Croatian government to come to them first, but the fact that they were the first to go for talks meant that they had won a major political point.

Let us add that Radovan Karadzic explained among other things that "Studio B television is not objective, is malicious, and is totally aligned," which he explained as "the unbelievable consequence of once being aligned with Mitevic's television."

Vojvodina Official on Culture, Financial Issues

AU2503142891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, by Demeter Pogar in Belgrade; date not given: "Yugoslavia's Transformation Might Take Years"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] Vojvodina Hungarians are not interfering in the Southern Slav debate concerning Yugoslavia's future. That does not mean that we are not interested in the changes that are taking place: We would like Yugoslavia to remain in one piece, we hope for a democratic transformation and a change of regime.... After all, at some point we are going to set off toward Europe—this is what Serbian Legislative Representative Andras Agoston recently told our NEPSZABADSAG correspondent.

[Pogar] At the beginning of the week, the Serbian Assembly disbanded Kosovo's presidency, the last representative body of the province. Over the last few years, when measures have been taken to dismantle Kosovo's autonomy, similar measures have followed in Vojvodina. What can we expect now?

[Agoston] In Kosovo, autonomy was built on the basis of nationality. The Serbian and the Albanian nation are fighting one another. Albanians do not accept the term "national minority" when it is applied to them. In Vojvodina, however, in 1988, it became clear that the majority of the ethnically Serbian population supported the Serbian leadership headed by President Milosevic. In Vojvodina, the Hungarian minority—which is the largest national minority—accounts for altogether 18 percent of the population. At the moment, there is a social debate in Vojvodina concerning the plans for a new basic law for the province. This law would technically put an end to the province, it would leave a formal territorial self-governing body, but the provincial organizations would not actually have any autonomy. The Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] does not want this. Given that a majority vote will decide on the matter, we do not have a lot to expect from this debate. The VMDK has accepted another concept, namely the principle of a national minority self-governing body based on individual principles.

[Pogar] What does that mean?

[Agoston] In essence, it means that those who see themselves as Hungarians, and those who wish to support Hungarians, elect a national minority council. This council would take on part of the Serbian Assembly's sphere of authority, matters relating to education, culture, and information. [passage omitted]

[Pogar] If the Vojvodina provincial self-governing body is limited practically to a county level, does this not imply that bilingual signposts and street signs, Hungarian newspapers and television channels might disappear?

[Agoston] That does not depend on us. We are in a position to defend our collective interests to a certain extent. It is in that spirit that I address the Serbian Assembly. Over the last three years, Vojvodina Hungarians have become politically independent, VMDK representatives are present in the Serbian Assembly—but our cultural and educational institutions do not follow this goal.

[Pogar] What funds will you have when state support for national minority affairs ceases to exist?

[Agoston] If Serbia opts for a real market economy, then there will be a substantial change. This means that self-governing minority bodies should be set up officially, so they can automatically direct money from taxes and from budget funds put aside for minority culture to their own branches. That way, the national minority could use these financial funds independently. [passage omitted]